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Afro-Peruvian Perspectives and Critiques of Intercultural Education Policy

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AFRO-PERUVIAN PERSPECTIVES AND CRITIQUES OF INTERCULTURAL
EDUCATION POLICY

A Dissertation Presented

by

LUIS MARTIN VALDIVIEZO ARISTA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 2012

Social Justice Education

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DEDICATION

A los jóvenes afro-peruanos que trabajan por un país con más justicia y oportunidades para todos sin distinción de etnicidad, idioma, sexo, género, clase social, ubicación geográfica, edad, capacidad física y mental, ni religión, y en especial a mis hijos: Luis Fredy, Rodrigo Alonso y Martín Adrián, y a mi sobrino William Andrés.

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ABSTRACT

AFRO-PERUVIAN PERSPECTIVES AND CRITIQUES OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION POLICY

MAY 2012

**LUIS MARTIN VALDIVIEZO ARISTA, LICENTIATE IN PHILOSOPHY, PONTIFICIA
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**MASTER IN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AMHERST**

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor Maurianne Adams

Based on intercultural education, socio-cultural analysis, and decolonization and critical pedagogy perspectives, this dissertation explores contradictions in Peruvian intercultural education policy and examines the potential role that African and Afro-Peruvian thought may have in the reform of this policy.

Despite redefinitions of the Peruvian state as multicultural/multilingual and the adoption of intercultural concepts in Peruvian education law, the official interpretation of intercultural principles has tended to undermine the social transforming potential implicit in intercultural education. First, official Peruvian education policy overlooks the historical and cultural contributions of non-European and non-Incan social groups. Second, it fails to address inequality and inequity between socio-cultural groups in the access to economic-political resources. Third, it restricts intercultural education programs to Indigenous speaking communities.

This study notes how Peruvian intercultural education policy is shaped by state discourses on national identity and by the structure of official Peruvian identity, the Castilian-Inca *mestizo* entity, and thus ignores Peru's African, Asian, and Middle Eastern roots. By arguing for the inclusion of Afro-Peruvian traditions, this research offers a model for opening intercultural education policy to other excluded socio-cultural groups.

Archival and contemporary evidence is used to show how the substantial African presence in Peru has been erased from official history, with negative socio-political consequences for Afro-Peruvians. It presents the philosophical, political, pedagogical, and sociological contributions of the Senegalese Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-2001), and the Afro-Peruvians Nicomedes Santa Cruz Gamarra (1925-1992) and Jose Carlos Luciano Huapaya (1956-2002) as bases for rethinking Peruvian cultural diversity and intercultural policies from decolonized, democratic, and global perspectives. Further, it presents objections and counter-

proposals to intercultural education policies of the Peruvian state that were gathered in a small pilot study of the personnel of the Afro-Peruvian Yapatera High School and the nonprofit organizations CEDET and Lundu. Finally, it articulates these counter-proposals with Senghor, Santa Cruz, and Luciano's theoretical inputs for decolonizing and democratizing Peruvian intercultural education policy.

Keywords: Intercultural Education, Peru, Afro-Latino, Criollo, Colonial Legacy, Mestizaje, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Nicomedes Santa Cruz, José Carlos Luciano, Decolonization.

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Introduction

“¿De dónde salió este negro?” [Where did this Black man come from?]

The above question was posed by a boy to his father inside the cab of an elevator when my father entered. This incident occurred in the building where my family and I had been living for more than 20 years in the city of Lima, the capital of Peru. Between feelings of shame and nervousness, the father quickly explained to his son that ‘el señor’ [this gentleman] was also a resident in the building. I do not know if the father answered the question for his son in more detail later. I do know, however, that questions about the origin of African descendants are difficult for the majority of Peruvians to answer, largely due the fact that the *mestizo* national identity has been based solely on Spanish and Incan origins. The *criollo* (cultural category for beliefs and practices linked to the Spanish legacy) dominant sense of national identity denies the African roots of the country as well as the Asian, non-Incan Indigenous, and Middle Eastern ones. This *criollo* culture has a Eurocentric orientation and it monopolizes the Peruvian state.

Consequently, school curricula designed by the state have been shaped by this *criollo-mestizo* discourse for decades, which is the main reason why, after graduating from my Peruvian high school, I did know more about European history than about Afro-Peruvian participation in national history, despite my own family’s Afro-Peruvian legacy. I had been so enthusiastic about history that I read more books than those required by the school syllabus, but I never read material where the participation of Afro-descendants in the construction of Peruvian society was explicitly recognized or described. Peruvian history books were populated by Incas, *mestizos*, and *criollos*. Afro-descendants appeared there a few times described as ‘blacks’ or ‘slaves’, and even these words were used as synonyms most of the time.

My knowledge of Afro-Peruvian history did not improve when I attended college. In general, all my years of formal education portrayed a country with a social reality that was much less diverse than what I saw at home and on the streets of different cities and rural towns of Peru. Moreover, my first decade of academic education was in European philosophy. My current critique of Eurocentrism is mainly based on my knowledge of the philosophical work of European modern and contemporary philosophers. I appreciate their intellectual work, but I do not think that this tradition is the superior way to understand the human reality. As my dissertation implies, dialogue among different cultural traditions could stimulate more creative ways to understand even fundamental questions inside each cultural tradition.

The official history that I learned, along with millions of other Peruvians, trained me to ignore the everyday presence in our society of Peruvians with African, Asian, non-Inca Indigenous, and Middle Eastern roots. The invisibility and marginalization of these different cultural groups still diminish the personal and institutional respect for their individual and collective rights.

I am also familiar with how this lack of social and institutional recognition feels from my personal experience. As a multiethnic individual, I have been insulted due to my African phenotype and sometimes also harassed by the police due to my 'suspicious' dark skin. My African roots were perceived by others as reducing my humanity and my citizenship. I had to struggle for years to reconcile and enjoy my Indigenous, Hispanic, Middle Eastern, and African roots. Over these years, I have observed with deep pain the structural and extreme oppression caused by *criollo* ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and racism, especially against Indigenous and

Afro-Peruvians as we witnessed dramatically in the 1980-2000 armed conflict and the Bagua 2009 massacre, to which I will refer later in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

My experience as a doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, in Social Justice Education program has increased my awareness about the seriousness of the Peruvian cultural and ethnic conflicts. They are one of the biggest threats facing democracy in Peru. This new awareness has inspired me to conduct this research. With this research, I confront the problem of Afro-Peruvian invisibility in the national school and college education. The main purpose of this dissertation is to propose the inclusion of marginalized socio-cultural groups in the transformation of intercultural education policies. By choosing intercultural education as its main theoretical tool, this dissertation focuses on the constraints of current intercultural policy and the resources that Afro-Peruvian culture can bring to a re-designing of intercultural principles and policies.

In Chapter 1, I explain the conceptual contradictions between Peruvian official policies of interculturality and the dominant notion of Peruvian identity as *mestizo*. Then, I explore a series of inconsistencies in key documents of the Peruvian intercultural education policy: the *1993 Peruvian Constitution*, the *National Program of Language and Cultures in Education* (2002), the *General Law of Education* (2003), *Basic Curricular Design for Middle and High School Levels* (2004), the *National Education Project Towards 2021* (2007), and the *Bill of Preservation, Use, and Promotion of Aboriginal Languages* (2007). I suggest that the persistence of colonial ideologies in the dominant *mestizaje* construction of national identity is the main source of these inconsistencies in the policy. In order to promote the inclusion of historically excluded socio-

cultural groups, the next chapters of this dissertation explore the potential contributions of the Afro-Peruvian culture in the creation of a new intercultural education policy.

In Chapter 2, I describe the methodologies needed to develop a theoretical empirical qualitative research in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 of the dissertation. In Chapter 3, I work on official history and Negritude and allies written counter-narratives in order to select evidence of the South Saharans and Afro-descendants' participation in decisive events of Peruvian past. In Chapter 4, I draw on theoretical principles that can improve intercultural conceptions and policies of the works of one African and two Afro-Peruvian intellectuals. In Chapter 5, I introduce three Afro-Peruvian institutions and present their criticism of the state intercultural education policies and, then, I expose their proposal for improving these policies. Also, in Chapter 2, I describe how my research process is linked to the analysis of the influence of my multiethnic Peruvian identity in the selection of the focus and the design of the dissertation as well as the impact of my identity on meetings, interviews, and observations during my fieldwork in Lima and Piura, Peru. Wherever I quote historical, philosophical, sociological, literary, institutional documents in the original Spanish or French, the English translations are my own.

In Chapter 3, first I use key sources of the Peruvian official history to show how invisibility and marginalization of Afro-Peruvians was built through colonial and Euro-centric narratives that are the basis of Peruvian official history. I analyze the writings of Pedro Cieza de León (1520-1554), Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616), José de la Riva Agüero (1885-1944), and Jorge Basadre (1903-1980). I argue that the dominant historiography has dehumanized South Saharans and Afro-Peruvians by tacitly or explicitly denying their role as actors in Peruvian history for more than four centuries. Second, I articulate counter-narratives from Peruvian

Negritude and ally historians to show the participation of South Saharans and Afro-Peruvians in the construction of the Peruvian society. Negritude provides us with a different reading of Afro-Peruvian history, one which emphasizes the struggle for freedom and justice from colonial times through the Republic. Even today, ideals of democratic modernity have fostered Afro-Peruvians' struggle for inclusion and equality as citizens through labor unions, social movements and political parties.

In Chapter 4, I discuss African and Afro-Peruvian philosophical, political, pedagogical, and sociological concepts that can enrich Peruvian interculturality and education based on an exploration of essays of the Senegalese Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-2001), and the Peruvians Nicomedes Santa Cruz (1925-1992) and José Carlos Luciano Huapaya (1956-2002). My reading of their works focuses on their discussions about cross-cultural issues such as cultural colonialism, social identity, ethnocentrism, and racism. Also, my review examines their political and ethical proposals to overcome these social problems. Senghor's principle of complementary equality among cultures, Santa Cruz's proposal for the democratization of *mestizaje*, and Luciano's demand for a decolonized language to construct democratic social identities are some of the most important concepts that I explore in this chapter. Then, I suggest ways for these concepts to improve visions of Peruvian interculturality.

In Chapter 5, I present data from documents published by Afro-Peruvian institutions as well as from interviews and conversations with representatives of three Afro-Peruvian institutions: Yapatera High School, and the nonprofit organizations CEDET and Lundu to convey their objections to current intercultural education policies and their counter-proposals. The introduction of these institutions includes their history and current work for the development

of Afro-Peruvian communities and for the change of state cultural policies. I describe and draw upon their critiques of current Peruvian policy and present their proposals for a new intercultural policy. Most of this information was obtained through two fieldwork trips between 2009 and 2010. In addition, personal interviews and observations in the field are used to describe the negative impact of neo-liberal policies on Indigenous people's rights and the activities of Afro-Peruvian nonprofit organizations.

In my conversations with Afro-Peruvian activists and teachers, I tried to understand their discourses inside their socio-economic-political-historical context. I think that different meanings of words and expressions are better perceived by being aware of that context. What I discovered in the process of communication was that, to reach honest conversations with them, we had to build a satisfactory relationship according to Afro-Peruvian values and practices. My conversations with Afro-Peruvians did not try to follow any ethnographic methodology, I just tried to have a human relationship based on reciprocity, which is one of the most important Afro-Peruvian and Indigenous ethical principles. Based on this mutual understanding, I did various jobs of writing, translation, consulting, and presentations for these Afro-Peruvian institutions. In addition, I will personally present this dissertation to them in my next travel to Peru. My ethical concerns about research with Afro-Peruvian participants parallel those of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) proposal. Smith approaches cultural protocols, values and behaviors in order to draw on Indigenous methodologies to confront research based on assumptions underlying beliefs the very European imperialism and colonialism that historically has dehumanized non-Western peoples.

In Chapter 6, I draw upon the findings of the previous chapters to highlight the benefits of including Afro-Peruvian culture and Afro-Peruvian civil society in the democratic dialogues

that should determine the re-design of intercultural education principles and policies. Throughout this dissertation I argue that other marginalized Peruvian cultures with Indigenous, Asian, and Middle Eastern roots should participate in this policy making process as well.

Coming from a critical position toward Eurocentric paradigms that rule Peruvian state culture, I tried to explore intercultural principles in African and Afro-Peruvian intellectual traditions as well as in Afro-Peruvian civil society in order to propose a policy making process based in a dialogue where Afro-Peruvians and other excluded cultural groups participate. This exploration also led to concepts of culture, *mestizaje*, and race that I am going to theorize more in my future research.

I need to emphasize that the direction of my research process avoided getting sidetracked into debates or analysis of the controversies surrounding the terminology of colonialism and interculturality based on the European tradition. I know that the legitimization of discourses in academic world usually requires a deep knowledge of the European theoretical tradition, but my work should not to look for that legitimization. A critique of Eurocentrism that looks for its legitimization in the European tradition falls in a self-destructive contradiction, because it is implicitly affirming what explicitly is denying: the superiority of the European worldview.

The change of education cultural policies that I propose in this dissertation is aimed at the inclusion of all socio-cultural groups. My dream is to contribute to the construction of an educational system that encourages understanding and respect for social diversity in Peru. With adequate information regarding the full range of peoples who have contributed to Peruvian history communicated throughout their years in school, future Peruvian teens will no longer ask,

"¿De dónde salió este negro?" They will know the answer: we have been in Peru since the early days of its modern history. We have helped shape Peru for the last 5 centuries.

CHAPTER 1

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN PERUVIAN INTERCULTURAL DISCOURSE

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I explore the inconsistencies between the conception of interculturality and the construction of the national identity of Peru as a *mestizo* country. This construction of *mestizaje* is a key element of the dominant culture that shapes state discourses about Peruvian cultural diversity. Then, I explore a series of contradictions in documents that define the Peruvian intercultural education policy. I locate the persistence of colonialism in the *mestizaje* construction as a source of these contradictions. In addition, I argue that colonial ideologies are incompatible with democratic principles of freedom, equality, and solidarity. Overcoming contradictions in the intercultural policy requires the deconstruction of the dominant idea of the *mestizo* national identity, which is based on the *criollo* dualistic Spanish-Indigenous paradigm that establishes a pyramid of Spanish and Inca cultures, and denies other cultural contributions to Peruvian national culture. Peruvian education needs intercultural policies that include the vast socio-cultural diversity of the country in order to prepare students to participate democratically in an increasingly diverse society.

Having identified the main contradictions of intercultural education policy and discussing their ideological cause, this chapter establishes theoretical conditions to argue in favor of the inclusion of historically marginalized cultures. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 expose benefits of including Afro-Peruvian perspectives in the elaboration of a future intercultural education policy in Peru.

Between Democracy and Colonialism

Interculturality is based on a conception of democracy open to the recognition of cultural diversity. The purpose of interculturality is to confront ethnocentric beliefs as well as the correlated practices of cultural exclusion and oppression. However, the Peruvian state discourse on interculturality tends to reproduce alleged unalterable hierarchies among cultures. Specifically, I examine the roots of this official discourse in Peruvian colonial history. In spite of the fact that Peru is a democratic state as defined by its Constitution, official discourses of Peruvian public institutions have retain remnants of colonial beliefs that undermine intercultural efforts to democratize cultural differences.

The notion of interculturality has become a key element in the national debate about relationships among education, cultural diversity, and democracy in Peruvian society (Godenzzi, 2004; Hornberger, 1988; Tubino, 2002). In the academic community, interculturality is defined as a guiding principle for the implementation of democratic dialogues between dominant and discriminated groups in order to build an inclusive citizenship (Ansión & Zúñiga, 1997; Fornet-Betancourt, 2005; Merino & Muñoz, 1998; Rodrigo-Alsina, 1997).

Peruvian education policy has explicitly adopted intercultural principles in the last two decades, in a process I describe in this chapter. Despite an expectation that intercultural education reflects the facts of cultural diversity and the necessity for dialogues and social justice among socio-cultural groups, the official interpretation of these principles has tended to undermine the critical and transformative effects of interculturality. First, the state's intercultural policy fails to recognize other non-European and non-Indigenous socio-cultural groups in Peru. Second, it evades dialogues about historical inequality and inequity between cultural groups in accessing economic-political resources. Third, it restricts intercultural education programs to

Indigenous speaking communities. Due to these three failures, intercultural education loses its potential for the cultural democratization of the country as a whole.

Intercultural policy in public education presents a site for the historic conflict between democratic ideologies based on principles of freedom, equality, and solidarity, and the Hispanic colonial ideology based on beliefs concerning European superiority and hierarchies among socio-cultural groups (Cornejo Polar, 1994; De la Cadena, 2001b; Santa Cruz, 1982a). I interpret the colonialism of state ideology as a system of beliefs that normalize structural inequalities among Peruvian cultural groups with African, Asian, European, Indigenous, and Middle Eastern roots. These beliefs have put European (especially Hispanic) cultures in a privileged position and have oppressed all other cultures for almost five centuries.

In addition, I argue that this colonial content is disguised by the official definition of the national identity of the country as *mestizo* (a mixture of different cultures). This blanket definition effectively covers the particular characteristics and histories of the people who make up a *mestizo* nation. The symbol of the national culture created by the Peruvian democratic Republic still maintains the Hispanic hegemonic project of Spanish colonialism (Cornejo Polar, 1994; De la Cadena 2001a). Accordingly, these colonial beliefs present the major ideological obstacle for the democratization of education policy. They result in a policy of interculturality that pretends to be something that is not.

Invisibility of Cultural Diversity

Until December 2009, the official website of the Peruvian government described Peru as “heredero de culturas milenarias y de una rica tradición colonial ...un verdadero crisol de culturas” [heir of millenary cultures and of a rich colonial tradition ... a real blend of cultures].

However, this website did not name the many cultures that together constitute current Peruvian society. This official presentation emphasized not the cultural diversity, but the value of colonial tradition. After being redesigned, this website does not use the word ‘culture’, but described the country as beautiful and diverse (“Es un país hermoso y variado”). Social diversity is praised, but in a vacuum because the components of that multiplicity are not described.

National censuses have never included ‘culture’ as a category in their questionnaires, perhaps for the reason that the Peruvian state has been mainly focused on the Hispanic homogenization of the country since its foundation on 1821 (Cornejo Polar, 1994; De la Cadena, 2001b; Santa Cruz, 1982a). At one point, the Peruvian census included the limited ethnic categories of Indians, *mestizos* and Whites, but these categories were abandoned more than seventy years ago. However, dozens of different non-Inca Indigenous peoples co-exist with people from Africa, Asia, Europe, and Middle East. Most of these peoples have had multiple social exchanges since the foundation of the viceroyalty of Peru in the 16th century until today.

Currently Peru has more than 28 million inhabitants. Due to the lack of official statistics on the ethnic composition of Peruvian society, it is very hard to do even a rough calculation of the percentages. However, I use reports from different ethnic organizations, commissions, and academic researches on Peruvian cultural diversity to offer a tentative description: 31% Indigenous (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2004; Trivelli, 2008)), 9% Afro-Peruvians (Luciano & Rodriguez, 1995), 9% Asian-Peruvians (Asociación Peruano-China, 2009), 9% European-Peruvians (Bonfiglio, 2008), 2% Middle Eastern-Peruvians, and 40% Hispanic-*mestizos* (Abuhadba, 2007). This transcontinental cultural diversity is still far from being respected by institutional and social practices, and even from being visible in official discourses.

Reports of the Peruvian Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2004, *Informe Final*), the Peruvian Ombudsman (2009, *68avo Reporte de Conflictos Sociales*), and Commissions of Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian peoples (Comisión Nacional Interétnica del Perú, *Pachacamac Declaration*, 2001) have shown that the country is affected by intense ethnic/cultural conflicts.

Due to this history of violence and oppression, intercultural education programs have been identified as key potential tools for the promotion of recognition and dialogue among cultures. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the ideological contradiction enclosed in the current intercultural education policy limits the effectiveness of current intercultural programs.

Colonial Hierarchies

The phrase “una rica tradición colonial” [a rich colonial tradition] tried to synthesize the positive aspect of a historical period (1542-1821) marked by the use of armed violence of the Spanish crown to subjugate people of the Inca kingdom. The colonizers also used Middle Eastern and African people as explorers, warriors, servants and/or slaves for their plans (Cieza de León, 1987; Garcilaso, 1985b; León Pinelo & Solórzano, 1680). Current inequalities between Peruvian socio-cultural groups still reproduce hierarchies imposed by this colonialism.

Colonization, understood as the military, economic, political, and/or cultural subjugation of one people by another people, was not a new phenomenon in the Peruvian territory. The Inca kingdom, the *Tawantinsuyo*, had subjugated dozens of other Indigenous peoples prior to Spanish colonization (Cieza de León, 1985; Garcilaso, 1985a). Yet it is noteworthy that the Inca economic system was different from the Spanish, based on agrarian production and reciprocity in trade rather than mining and slavery. The current Peruvian socio-cultural structure reflects the

perpetuation of three centuries of Spanish colonialism imposed over an earlier century of Incan colonialism. According to the Peruvian Indigenous ethnographer and writer, Jose Maria Arguedas, the overlapping of Spanish and Inca systems were one of the biggest obstacles for the modernization of the Peruvian society: “La superposición, casi integración, de los sistemas de administración colonial e inca, tan hábilmente forjado en la colonia, se nos presenta como un instrumento de resistencia al desarrollo socio-económico moderno del Perú” [The overlapping, almost integration, of the Spanish and Incan systems, so skillfully made in the colonial period, is a tool that blocks the modern socio-economic development of Peru] (1981, p. 130).

Around the world, colonialism has had devastating effects. The Martinican poet, Aimé Césaire (1972) denounced colonialism due to its dehumanizing effects on individuals and on entire peoples. For him, colonization degrades human relations: “the colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as an animal, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform himself into an animal” (1972, pp. 18-19). For Césaire, the colonial condition was structurally violent, even after the military operations of conquest were done: “where there are colonizers and colonized face to face, I see force, brutality, cruelty, sadism, conflict, and ...a parody of education.” For these reasons, he stated that “a civilization which justifies colonization –and therefore force- is already a sick civilization.” (1972, pp. 20-21). He saw in colonialism a phenomenon that expresses an extreme social injustice.

The Peruvian sociologist, Anibal Quijano (2000), states that Latin American societies still organize themselves according to principles of the European colonialism. His general description of ethnic hierarchies in Latin America corresponds to phenotypic and cultural

differences between rich and poor social classes in Peru. According to Quijano, the dominant ideology in these societies is based on the ‘coloniality’ (colonialidad) of the power. This construction is reflected in the ways Euro-centric racial and cultural hierarchies rule political and economic institutions in Latin American Republics.

Nevertheless, Quijano’s argument is problematic in the Peruvian case due to the fact that he did not acknowledge the incorporation of Inca colonialism within Spanish ‘coloniality.’ Quijano’s interpretation suggests that colonialism and its correlative racism is an exclusive invention of Western European cultures. This idea is controversial, because the history of each continent also shows processes of colonization where some people were identified as the other inferior and, then, were subjugated. In some ways, colonialism has emerged each time that two peoples have fought for power over material resources (Haas, 1990). However, it is true that some European cultures have globalized their colonizing ambitions, but there have also been different historical processes of colonization within each continent. It is likely, therefore, that pre-existing forms of colonialism facilitated the expansion of ‘coloniality’ in the South Americans during the last 500 years.

My point here is that colonialism presents ethical and political problems in any geographic or cultural scenario where one group of people tries to achieve and/or maintain political, economic, cultural, linguistic, and religious supremacy over another. Colonialism as a practice has its origin in the fights for dominance between peoples. Colonialism as a specific ideology has its genesis in an ethnocentrism that diminishes and subordinates other social groups in order to assert the superiority and power of one’s own group (Miralles Écrivain, 2009). This belief in superiority has been used historically to justify the project of domination as if the

domination is a matter of divine, natural, historic, or moral right. In these ways, colonialism justifies appropriation of natural resources and the exploitation of subjugated people to benefit the dominant people.

Colonizers have sought to make permanent a power situation that is economically favorable through ideologies that exaggerate the conquerors' virtues and the vices of conquered people. Those virtues and vices have been described as unchangeable, innate, and transferable by sexual reproduction (Cesaire, 1972; Memmi, 1982). This has been the origin of racism, a powerful tool of colonialism because it essentializes the basis for subordination or dehumanization in the relationship between colonizer/colonized (Cesaire, 1972; Fanon, 1967b; Memmi, 1982).

Although Peru today is an independent democratic Republic and not a colony, the principles of freedom, equality, and solidarity are missing in interactions between unequal and underrepresented socio-cultural groups. The social imagination still reproduces images of social identities that reflect Hispanic colonial stereotypes, for example of Afro-Peruvians who are seen as unintelligent but may be good dancers (Demus, 2005).

The systemic unbalance among groups that belong to the same democratic society was defined by the philosopher Iris Marion Young (1990) as structural oppression. That is a situation where the rights of a group are constrained in everyday life as a consequence of prejudices and practices that are reproduced by mass media, market habits, and government policies. Young elaborated five criteria to define a situation of inequality or inequity as structurally oppressive: a group is under structural oppression when its members (due to their social identity) are systematically exploited, marginalized, disempowered, or they are objects of cultural

imperialism and/or violence. Transferring these criteria to the context of Peruvian social reality, it could be said that Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian socio-cultural identities are those which most notably suffer the everyday threat of all these expressions of structural oppression. Inside each of these collective identities, women are victims of a double oppression, by ethnicity and gender.

In my view, the reproduction of ideological colonialism is a central political factor in the structural oppression against Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian peoples in Peru. This oppression works in favor of Hispanic groups that control political, economic, military, and judicial institutions. In addition, this ideology especially privileges males inside the Hispanic groups.

Interculturality Without Diversity: Contradictions in Educational Policy

This section explores how the vestiges of colonialism continue to shape cultural policies in the Peruvian education system. This exploration covers issues of definition of interculturality and, language and cultural diversity. It draws upon official documents prepared by institutions such as the Congress, the Ministry of Education, and the National Council of Education. A key question is: how does colonialism in Peruvian society dominate the intercultural discourse in education policy?

The discourse that constitutes the cultural policy of Peruvian education explicitly affirms the principle of interculturality at the same time that it silently denies the current cultural diversity of Peru. Interculturality, as defined in the *General Law of Peruvian Education* (Congreso de la República del Perú, 2003) as the “mutual knowledge and learning between cultures,” necessarily implies socio-cultural diversity. Therefore the implementation of interculturality is logically impossible without recognition of diversity. However, key texts of

intercultural education policy do not explicitly mention those cultures. In this way, the specific cultural groups that comprise Peruvian cultural diversity remain invisible to the official discourse.

a) The Peruvian Constitution, 1993

The Constitution affirms the social diversity of the country and guarantees the right of recognition of different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identities in its articles 2, 17, and 48:

Artículo 2.- Toda persona tiene derecho: ...19. A su identidad étnica y cultural. El Estado reconoce y protege la pluralidad étnica y cultural de la Nación.

Artículo 17.- El Estado garantiza la erradicación del analfabetismo. Asimismo, fomenta la educación bilingüe e intercultural, según las características de cada zona. Preserva las diversas manifestaciones culturales y lingüísticas del País. Promueve la integración nacional.

Artículo 48.- Son idiomas oficiales el castellano y, en las zonas donde predominen, también lo son el quechua, el aimara y las demás lenguas aborígenes, según la ley.

[Article 2...all individuals have the right:...19. To their ethnic and cultural identity. The state recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Nation.

Article 17.- The state guarantees the eradication of illiteracy. The state also promotes bilingual and intercultural education according to the characteristics of each zone. The state preserves the diverse cultural and linguistic manifestations of the country. The state promotes national integration.

Article 48.- The official languages are Spanish, and, in the regions where they predominate, Quechua, Aymara and other Indigenous languages.]

The state is redefined as a multicultural and multilingual entity, however the Constitution's discourse fails to identify those ethnicities, cultures, and languages that the "state recognizes and protects." Based on this redefinition, the state is committed to promoting bilingual and intercultural education. As Dibós (2005) highlighted, the Constitution incorporates interculturality, but constrains it to the education field. Therefore, the Peruvian fundamental rules do not apply interculturality to economic or political resources. In these ways, the official interculturality does not challenge the Peruvian establishment.

About linguistic diversity, the text was written in Spanish and it re-establishes Spanish as the official Peruvian language. Indigenous languages have official status only in local contexts where Indigenous languages are predominant. The Constitution mentions two families of Indigenous languages: Quechua and Aymara while different researches show the existence of 15 families of Indigenous languages in Peru (Congreso de la República del Perú, 2008).

The Ministry of Education has confined intercultural education to rural contexts where the majority of the students come from communities with Indigenous languages. The difference between Indigenous languages and Spanish has been the unique criterion used by education policy makers to refer to cultural diversity and to design intercultural programs for Indigenous students, but not for Hispanic ones.

As I will show in the following paragraphs, documents that shape current cultural policies in the education sector reflect a limited perception of Peruvian cultural diversity. This policy of

ignorance is a sign of the lack of will for true interculturalization, which also shows that the state is not concerned about progress in the cultural democratization of the country.

b) National Program of Languages and Cultures in Education, 2002

This document, the NPLCE, published by the Dirección Nacional de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural of the Ministry of Education, links the specific goal of bilingual and intercultural education to the more general goal of reaching quality and equity in educational services. According to this Program, diversity should be taken into account by the national education system in order to reach its general goals. The NPLCE says:

La educación intercultural asume la diversidad cultural y el mecanismo de la interacción dialógica como recursos potentes para la construcción de sociedades realmente democráticas y para el desarrollo de procesos educativos pertinentes y significativos [Intercultural education assumes that the cultural diversity and the dialogic interaction mechanism are powerful tools for building real democratic societies and the implementation of pertinent and meaningful educational processes] (p. 9).

In other words, interculturality is conceived as a principle to promote the recognition of marginalized groups, to implement cross-cultural dialogues, and to foster mutual and significant learning among cultures. All these processes should contribute to the building of a real democratic citizenship. In addition, interculturality is understood as a critical principle: “La interculturalidad permite abordar críticamente la diversidad de los procesos culturales y la modalidad de sus intercambios” [Interculturality allows for critical thinking about the diversity

of cultural processes and exchanges] (p. 8). In some way, interculturality is a principle to analyze issues of power and justice in cultural dynamics and interactions in Peruvian society.

Beyond praising interculturality, the NPLCE fails to define the cultural diversity that should be included and researched by Peruvian intercultural education. This document also ignores most linguistic diversity and mentions only six Indigenous languages (Aymara, Aguaruna, Quechua, Ese Eja, Shipibo y Harambut) in addition to Spanish.

This silence about the extent of Peruvian cultural diversity (including its linguistic dimension) is the manifestation of an intentional paradox of interculturality without cultural diversity in the cultural policies of the Peruvian education. The praise of interculturality and the disregard of cultural diversity is a rhetoric strategy to protect the Hispanic privilege in the country.

c) General Law of Education, 2003

The praise of interculturality and the avoidance of a vocabulary that represents Peruvian cultural diversity are also noticeable in the *General Law of Education* (Congreso de la República del Perú, 2003). In its 8th article, this law defines and affirms interculturality as one of the central principles of Peruvian education:

La interculturalidad asume como riqueza la diversidad cultural, étnica y lingüística del país, y encuentra en el reconocimiento y respeto a las diferencias, así como en el mutuo conocimiento y actitud de aprendizaje del otro, para la convivencia armónica y el intercambio entre las diversas culturas del mundo

[Interculturality assumes the richness of cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity of

the country. It finds foundations for the harmonic co-existence and exchange among world cultures in the recognition and respect of differences, and in the mutual knowledge and the attitude toward learning from the other].

Moreover, the 20th article concludes:

La Educación Bilingüe intercultural se ofrece en todo el sistema educativo:

a) Promueve la valoración y enriquecimiento de la propia cultura, el respeto a la diversidad cultural, el diálogo intercultural y la toma de conciencia de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas, y de otras comunidades nacionales y extranjeras. [Bilingual intercultural education is offered to the whole education system: a) it promotes the appreciation and enrichment of each culture, the respect of cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue, awareness about the rights of Indigenous peoples and other national and international communities].

The reference to the Indigenous people and other national communities implies the indirect recognition of some cultural diversity inside the country. But, behind these words, there is no other identification of those Peruvian cultures which are supposed to be addressed by intercultural education programs.

d) National Curricular Design for Secondary levels, 2004

The social-cultural and linguistic diversity within Peruvian multiculturalism is also invisible in this document. This program includes intercultural education as an intersectional theme, because it “reconoce la importancia del plurilingüismo y la diversidad étnica y cultural, y valora las distintas culturas que conforman la identidad nacional [recognizes the importance of linguistic, ethnic and cultural diversity and values the different cultures that constitute Peruvian

identity] (p. 3). However, across all its pages, the program does not identify those ethnic and cultural groups.

In the Language-Communication curricular area, the word ‘language’ is used as a synonym for ‘Spanish’ although the document affirms that this area promotes the respect for the linguistic diversity (p. 22). My past experience as a student and a teacher in Peruvian Hispanic schools leads me to say that this omission makes Hispanic students (from dominant socio-cultural groups) likely to see Peru as a monolingual Spanish reality and exacerbates feelings of exclusion among students whose relatives have Indigenous mother tongues.

The only curricular area of this *Diseño Curricular* where a language other than Spanish is mentioned is Foreign Language. Although no specific foreign language is mentioned, the public education system has been exclusively focused on English. Reasons for this exclusive English option can be better understood by analyzing the Euro-centrism of colonialism, the neo-colonial relationship between Peru and the United States, and the U.S. policy for Latin America. Due to this entire political context, Portuguese is not a Foreign Language option in Peruvian education system despite the fact that Peruvian and Brazilian peoples share a history of multiple exchanges through their common Amazonian border.

Another curricular area where the Peruvian socio-cultural diversity is ignored is Social Science. Here the same policy of the tacit denial of ethnic and cultural diversity is applied. Starting from the invisibility of Peruvian diversity, it seems that it does not make sense to elaborate questions about issues between socio-cultural groups.

Most striking, however, is the non-inclusive and dismissive language used to describe different Religious traditions. Here, religion and religious instruction explicitly refer to Catholicism and all non-Catholic people (including other Christians) are called ‘non-believers’ (p. 57). This discourse seemingly discredits religious beliefs connected to different cultural traditions. Some of these traditions belong to cultural practices of Native South Americans and peoples from other continents that now co-exist in Peru.

e) National Education Project towards 2021, 2007

This document, the NEP 2021, was proposed by the National Council of Education and it was approved as part of state policy in 2007. The NEP 2021 dismissed intercultural principles and summarized the main problems of public education as discrimination based on social class and gender. According to the analysis developed in this document, these forms of discrimination impeded the achievement of equality and quality in primary, secondary, and higher education. However, the NEP 2021 admitted that these issues affect, with more intensity, children and teenagers who speak Indigenous languages:

Tal vez no exista expresión más emblemática de esta situación que el fracaso en el aprendizaje de la lectura y la escritura, especialmente grave entre la población rural y bilingüe, víctimas de una suerte de *apartheid* educativo [There may be no more symbolic expression of this situation than the failure of learning, reading and writing particularly severe in rural and bilingual populations, who are victims of an educational apartheid] (2007, 32).

In Peru, ‘rural and bilingual population’ clearly refers to Indigenous populations. Although ethnicity or race is an obvious factor of this ‘educational apartheid’ the document did not offer an analysis of this crucial issue.

A great contradiction appears in this document. First, it declares that gender and social class discrimination are the most serious problems in the public schools. Then, it mentions that these types of discrimination are most severe in “rural and bilingual populations.” However, it fails to mention the obvious third factor here—which is discrimination against indigenous peoples, who constitute the very “rural and bilingual populations” who are referred to as suffering most. This silence around discrimination based on indigenous ethnicity and language may be seen as significant in terms of subsequent policy and practice.

The choice of the word ‘apartheid’ to describe Indigenous students’ situation indicates that their discrimination is extreme. ‘Apartheid’ is related to racism and racial segregation in South Africa. The document is suggesting that Indigenous language/cultural/ethnic oppression in Peru is similar to Black racial oppression in South Africa. This is a very serious issue for a Latin American mestizo and democratic society. The comparison with the ‘apartheid’ points out that language/cultural/ethnic differences are also main factors of discrimination along with gender and social class. The analysis developed by the National Council of Education avoids this issue, but any honest research that deals with structural discrimination in public education should address it.

Nevertheless, why does the NEP 2021 fail to explicitly acknowledge the fact that language/culture/ethnic differences are the basis for extreme discrimination in the Peruvian education system while it says that ‘rural and bilingual’ students suffer an educational apartheid?

The contradiction of this document shows how underlying colonial beliefs can weaken educational analysis committed to improving democracy in Peru. Colonial beliefs work to maintain silence about a situation that should be confronted directly in a society that attests to democratic principles.

According to the NEP 2021, the country has good private educational institutions, but only those students who can pay their tuition can study there. It is said that these schools offer an education “de gran calidad” [high quality] and that they “garantizan óptimos resultados de aprendizaje” [guarantee optimal learning results]. In some ways, this document praises these private schools that serve privileged Hispanic groups (p. 33). Debatably, these paragraphs show some kind of *criollo* ethnocentrism that complemented colonialism. A more critical analysis of the Peruvian educational system should discuss the role of these private schools in the reproduction of discriminatory beliefs and cultural and linguistic oppression in Peruvian society.

The five official texts mentioned above have a common characteristic: the neglect of the cultural (and linguistic) diversity. The following document is an exception in the history of the state language policy.

f) Bill of Preservation, Use, and Promotion of Aboriginal Languages, 2008

This is the only case of an official text that tries to rigorously reflect one aspect of the social diversity of the country. Interestingly, this bill was elaborated by the Commission of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian peoples in the Congress, which represents a small minority in the Congress. However, in 2008, after furious discussions in the Congress and national media, the Congress ‘returned’ (rejected) this bill to its Commission. María Sumire, Indigenous

congresswoman, interpreted this disapproval as one expression of the historical racism of the Peruvian state against Indigenous people. This disapproved project names each one of the 15 linguistic families (Araucano, Arawaka, Aymara, Cahuapana, Harakmbet, Híbito-Cholon, Jibaro, Pano, Peba-Yagua, Quechua, Tacana, Tucano, Tupi, Huitoto y Zaparo) and each one of the 60 languages spoken by Indigenous Peruvians.

This document was supposed to represent an unprecedented step in the cultural discourses of the state. In addition, the project left open the Indigenous languages list: “This description is not the last word and it does not exclude other languages that may be discovered through new anthropologic and linguistic research” (p. 34). The goal of this proposed law was “to determine the extension of the individual and collective rights and guarantees established concerning languages by the Peruvian state in the 48th article of the 1993 Constitution.” The project included some of the following proposals: a) Linguistic policies should be designed with Indigenous organizations, in addition to other social sectors. These new policies should be consistent with the national policy of bilingual and intercultural education dictated by the Ministry of Education; b) the state’s mass media should promote and broadcast programs in Indigenous languages; c) state offices and services should serve Indigenous individuals in their first language; d) public offices and services should hire interpreters and implement language training for their officials in order to reach satisfactory communication with Indigenous speakers; e) all state documents addressed to citizens should be translated into Indigenous languages; f) Individual identifications should be bilingual in those areas where Indigenous languages are official; g) The High Academy of Quechua Language should be created; h) Indigenous languages should be taught at all educational levels in the public system.

This bill established a framework for the design of Indigenous language programs in all government offices in correspondence with the development of bilingual intercultural education. In other words, the project determined that program designs should be consistent with the public policy of bilingual, intercultural, and rural education. The contradictory element in this bill was the proposal of the Academy of Quechua, because this is a project for all aboriginal languages and not only for Quechua. What would be consistent with whole project is a proposal of an Academy of Aboriginal Languages. Interestingly, the exclusive option for Quechua related to the Academy may reflect some kind of Quechua ethnocentrism compared to other Indigenous languages, an idea that is still alive among some Andean intellectuals and politicians (Rossemond, 2009).

Rejection of this project by the Peruvian Congress and the national media partially showed the intensity of cultural tensions across the country. It is important to examine some causes of these expressions of intolerance and discrimination in connection with the dominant ideology of the Peruvian state that has historically justified cultural inequalities as consequences of ‘natural’ hierarchies among socio-cultural groups: namely Hispanic colonialism.

Colonialism and the *Criollo Mestizo* Identity

The major ideological obstacle for making visible and recognizing the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country is the hegemonic Hispanic project developed by the colonial administration and followed by the Republican *criollo* state during the 19th and 20th centuries. The promise of strengthening the new Republic based on the Spanish language and the Catholic religion guaranteed the monopoly of the power for *criollo* groups. The new official culture built since the foundation of the Peruvian Republic was instrumental for the *criollo* economic and

political aspirations. The official *criollo* culture kept the colonial legacy of beliefs about ‘natural’ differences and inequalities between racial, cultural, and linguistic groups.

In the transition between the 19th and 20th century, *criollo* intellectuals re-elaborated images and discourses on what it meant to be Peruvian in order to design a national identity more appropriate to the social diversity of the country. It was necessary to recognize the massive exchange between socio-cultural groups for centuries. They designed a Castilian-Inca *mestizo* model of national identity. Based on this model, the history of the Republic was written. This model kept the idea of superiority of the Hispanic over the Inca’s culture and omitted Peru’s African, Asian and Middle Eastern roots. This notion of *mestizaje* was promoted by intellectuals such as José Santos Chocano and José de la Riva Agüero. Chocano wrote in his poetry book *Alma America* (it was published in Madrid, Spain, in 1906, with preface of Miguel de Unamuno):

La sangre es española e incaico es el latido;

¡y de no ser poeta quizás hubiese sido

un blanco aventurero o un indio Emperador!

[The blood is Spanish and the beat is Inca;

if not a poet I might have been

a White adventurer or an Indigenous emperor!]

Despite the fact that this poem mentions the Arab roots of Peruvians in other lines, *criollo* intellectuals almost unanimously denied or ignored the roots of the country beyond the duality Spanish-Inca. Riva Agüero standardized the division of Peruvian history in two periods: the pre-Hispanic and the Hispanic. He praised the first one as a symbol of the past and the second one as a symbol of the present and future. He chose the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616) as the

highest icon of Peruvian culture. Then, prominent characters of Peruvian history with neither notable Hispanic nor Indigenous roots were whitened, indigenized, or mixed.

The Inca Garcilaso's life and work were appreciated by these intellectuals as a demonstration of the harmonic and fruitful subordination of the Inca to the Hispanic culture. Garcilaso was the son of an Inca princess and a Spanish captain. His case was unusual and privileged among *mestizos* at his time. Garcilaso grew up bilingual and bi-cultural in the middle of a war of colonization. He was described as an individual with a *mestizo* face and Spanish mind. He thought that Catholicism was superior to the Incan religion. Therefore, Garcilaso endorsed the Spanish colonial project of evangelization in the Americas. At the same time, Garcilaso was the first Peruvian writer to proclaim his *mestizo* pride:

A los hijos de español y de india, o de indio y española, nos llaman mestizos, por decir que somos mezclados de ambas naciones ... y por ser nombre impuesto por nuestros padres y por su significación, me lo llamo yo a boca llena y me honro con él [We, sons of a Spanish man and an Indigenous woman, or an Indigenous man and a Spanish woman, are called 'mestizos' to say that we are mixed from both nations ... This name was imposed by our parents and due to its meaning ... I call myself this openly and I am honored by it] (Inca Garcilaso, 1985b, 266).

The dominant discourse of *mestizaje* established the masculine duality Castilian-Inca as a paradigm to describe an allegedly reconciled diverse Peruvian society. The components of this duality were not symmetric; the relationship between them is vertical. The Hispanic culture is placed over the Inca culture (and other Indigenous cultures are erased). Therefore, the *mestizo* individual model has a face with Indigenous phenotypes, and he is Spanish speaking and

Catholic, but, he does not speak Quechua, and does not practice Indigenous religions or hold an Indigenous worldview. His Mother-Country is Spain.

According to Marisol de la Cadena (2001a), the progressive *criollo* elite designed a model of *mestizaje* that reaffirmed Western hegemony and its own privileged position in the country at the beginning of the 20th century. This corroborates Maurianne Adams (2010) affirmation that, although social differences are valuable, social identities have been historically used to justify privileges and oppression.

The *criollo* discourse avoided biologic conceptions in debates about race issues, but they adopted a culturalist conception of social differences. This decision was inspired by Gonzales Prada (1844-1918) who argued that differences between individuals and groups were fundamentally consequences of their education.

Because the majority of *criollo* elite were racially *mestizo*, they contested the racial determinism of European scientists such as the French Gustave Le Bon and the British Herbert Spencer. According to these scientists, *mestizo* individuals were degenerate by nature. However, the *criollo* culturalist theory about the origin of social differences had European colonial content. *Criollo* intellectuals thought a priori that European cultures were superior to any other. Therefore, their discourse renewed prejudices against non-European cultures. In a different way, colonial hierarchies on social groups were reestablished. De la Cadena argues that Lima City, as the capital of the viceroyalty and, later, of the Republic, had more familiarity with European cultures; therefore, the Eurocentrism into the *criollo* discourse reinforced the Limenian hegemony in the country.

In addition, based on this racist culturalist theory about social inequalities, the *criollo* state propagated the idea that education (understood as westernization) was going to redeem poor people (majority of them were Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian people) during the first decades of the 20th century. One representative of this culturalist vision was the *criollo* Limenian Minister of Education, Javier Prado. He also used the positivist philosophy of Comte to justify and promote a theory that postulated the cultural assimilation of all non-Hispanic groups in Peru.

De la Cadena also states that objections to the *criollo mestizaje* project came from Indigenist (Andean) intellectuals such as Eduardo Valcárcel (1891-1986). These objections came from a vision that advocated for the superiority of the Indigenous/Inca culture. Valcárcel had anti- *mestizo* feelings, but he kept himself inside the culturalist discourse to affirm the purity (and therefore the superiority) of Inca culture. He asked for a reformulation of the cultural map of the country. As the Minister of Education between 1945 and 1947, Valcárcel promoted pure Inca expressions as ‘authentic’ culture and invalidated *mestizo* expressions as ‘inauthentic.’ (2001b, pp. 4-9). In some ways, Valcárcel confronted Spanish colonialism to propose a kind of Incan colonialism by restoring Inca culture to the top of the national hierarchy. The work of Valcárcel in the Ministry of Education meant, on one hand, a short parenthesis in the *criollo* hegemony through the whole Republican history; on the other hand, he represented a kind of Inca colonial nostalgia expressed in discourses of Andean or Indigenist intellectuals (Rossemond, 2009).

Most of the national debates about Peruvian cultural identity in the first half of the 20th century denied the full cultural diversity of the country. These debates were monopolized by two groups with colonial approaches: *Criollo* and Andean intellectuals. *Criollos* argued that the question of national identity would be solved by recognizing Spain as the Mother-Country.

Indigenist intellectuals argued that the Inca kingdom is the foundation of Peruvian nation. Few participants in these debates looked for a reconciliation between these claims (Cornejo Polar, 1994, pp. 100-233). However, both sides in this dispute ignored or scorned cultural and material contributions of other Peruvian socio-cultural groups.

The existence of Asian-Peruvians and Middle Eastern-Peruvians were not mentioned in most of these debates. Afro-Peruvians were mentioned most often to reinforce stereotypes against them. Even José Carlos Mariátegui, the most prominent thinker of the Peruvian left, reproduced prejudices against the culture of Afro-Peruvians that were not challenged by any *criollo* leftist intellectual at that moment. Mariátegui (1979) used colonial racial categories to state that Afro-descendants represent the Peruvian colonial past. Nowadays, the *criollo* discourse of *mestizaje*, even among Peruvian socialists and communists, is still impregnated by Euro-centric and colonial content.

In the case of Afro-Peruvian people, this constant policy of scorn of their contributions was confronted by the poet Nicomedes Santa Cruz (1925-1992). He expressed a democratic conception of Afro-Peruvian identity more open to cultural diversity. According to Verástegui (1975, pp. 9-10), the Afro-Peruvian cultural legacy began to be recognized by the Peruvian society thanks to the work of Santa Cruz as an actor, cultural organizer and political activist.

Additionally, diverse historical and anthropological investigations have allowed the unveiling of another tacit denial in the *criollo* discourse of *mestizaje*. This is about the internal diversity in the Hispanic and Indigenous traditions. On one side, the Hispanic tradition has historically blended Arab, Jewish, Berber, Celt, Phoenician, Luso, Catalan, Basque, Galician, and South-Saharan African groups with Castilians (Cahill, 1994; Del Busto, 2001; León Pinelo

& Solórzano, 1680; Moreno, 1973; Mörner, 1967). These groups co-existed in Spain centuries before the discovery and during the colonization of the Americas. On the other side, the Indigenous tradition includes dozens of Native peoples that co-existed centuries before the Inca kingdom in the Coastal, Andean, and Amazonian regions such as Chanca, Chimu, Tallan, Mochica, Uro, Viru, Quechua, Aymara, Shipibo, Shawis, Ashaninkas, and Aguaruna (Basadre, 1980; Cahill, 1994; Guerra & others 2002; Quintanilla Ponce, 2001).

This *criollo* non-inclusive discourse of *mestizaje* still shapes the conception and design of intercultural policies in the education sector. From the perspective of *criollo mestizaje*, intercultural education has been understood and implemented as ‘Indigenous education’ or the education for the Native people less assimilated to the dominant culture (Hornberger, 2000; López & Kuper, 1999). From this dominant point of view, poor and rural Indigenous groups do not participate in national citizenship due to their lack of *mestizaje*. Therefore, intercultural education should correct this lack of *mestizaje* that impedes the integration of these Indigenous communities into national citizenship. In other words, for dominant groups, the solution of discrimination mostly depends on the willingness of discriminated groups to assimilate.

Meanwhile, on the other side, the education of the dominant group is oriented to the assimilation of the alleged ‘universal culture’ (which means for them Hispanic, U.S., British, German, and French cultures). Moreover, in the context of neo-liberal globalization lead by Anglo-Saxon powers, the Peruvian state has reaffirmed its colonial conception of European cultures and languages as more valuable than those from other continents. An example of how these colonial beliefs shape national policy is the state exclusive option for English as a second language for the whole public education system.

Decolonization and Intercultural Dialogue

Despite the redefinition of the Peruvian state as multicultural and multilingual in 1993, political institutions still refuse to fully acknowledge and to democratically manage the socio-cultural diversity of the country. This refusal is correlative to the historical intolerance and racism of dominant groups against non-European socio-cultural groups.

Starting from a colonial view, it is impossible to assume equity and equality as the condition and goal for dialogue between cultures (Cesaire, 1972; Fanon, 1967b). For colonialism, the only option for the co-existence among cultures is subordination and/or assimilation to the culture of the dominant group. Consequently, I argue that intercultural education policies require a set of decolonization policies for economic, military, and political Peruvian institutions to be effective.

A real proposal for intercultural education programs should imply a comprehensive political project for the decolonization of Peruvian society. Only inside a comprehensive decolonization project, can intercultural education be understood and implemented with pluralistic and dynamic perspectives. Interculturality requires applying freedom, equality, and solidarity principles to relationships between cultures and these applications are incompatible with colonial beliefs that assume cultural hierarchies as a natural and unchangeable fact. This is a matter of a democratic social justice. As Lee Anne Bell (2010) affirms, a democracy should have as a goal the “full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs” (p. 21).

Due to the multicultural condition of Peruvian society and the necessity for overcoming social conflicts produced by cultural discrimination and oppression, democratic education should

have as its central goal the promotion of intercultural citizens; in other words, citizens that recognize social diversity as common richness and work for justice, reconciliation, and cooperation among different socio-cultural groups by using democratic principles. The cultural democratization of the country will mean the ideological decolonization of Peruvian society.

In the field of education, this collective reflective process requires the inclusion of the voices of discriminated groups in the design and implementation of intercultural policies. This is what Amazonian and Andean peoples along with Afro-Peruvians have demanded through many declarations. In 2001, the National Inter-Ethnic Commission wrote the *Pachacamac Declaration* which demands (a) intercultural education for all social sectors and all levels of formal education and (b) participation of historically discriminated people in the design and implementation of these programs. Due to the trans-continental condition of Peruvian society, Peruvian communities with Arab, Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, Korean, and Pakistani roots should also participate in these dialogues.

In the next chapters, the dissertation will explore the methodology and the results of a research about Afro-Peruvian participation in the construction of the national society and the potential benefits of its intellectual traditions for Peruvian interculturality. By presenting the Afro-Peruvian counter-narratives, intellectual production, and educational community initiatives in this dissertation, I also intend to present a case that can stimulate more research about other excluded socio-cultural groups that should be included in creating a new intercultural education policy. I draw from historians such as Luis Millones, Fernando Romero, Dennis Cuché, and Carlos Aguirre as well as intellectuals such as Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Enrique Verástegui, Anibal Quijano, and Franz Fanon in Chapter 3, and from African and Afro-Peruvian thinkers

such as Leopold Sedar Senghor, Nicomedes Santa Cruz, and José Carlos Luciano in Chapter 4.

But next, in Chapter 2, I describe my methodology.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY OF THIS RESEARCH

Introduction

The discussion on contradictions of intercultural education policy in Chapter 1 concludes affirming the need of including the voices of excluded socio-cultural groups in the re-design of these policies. Based on this conclusion, the dissertation develops a long argument - based upon documentary sources in Chapter 3, the writings of Senghor, Santa Cruz, and Luciano in Chapter 4, and one Afro-Peruvian school and two NGO representatives in Chapter 5, to demonstrate the potential benefits of including Afro-Peruvian culture into the dialogical process that should shape a new intercultural policy.

One of the main challenges for my research about Afro-Peruvians and intercultural education was to locate historical and archival evidence of Afro-descendant participation in the construction of Peruvian society and their contributions to Peruvian interculturality. This first topic led me to historical research where I explored counter-narratives and confronted official narratives and presented this research in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I survey major theories and thinkers in the Afro Peruvian tradition. This historical and theoretical record led me to conduct qualitative, empirical research based on: archival and bibliographic sources; interviews with Afro-Peruvian activists and educators; observation of Afro-Peruvian cultural events, non-profit activities and projects; and reviews of contemporary Afro-Peruvian handbooks, videos, and publications. These research findings appear in Chapter 5.

Why and How the Research Was Conducted

By presenting the historical evidence of systematic injustice against South Saharans and Afro-Peruvians and the ways Afro-Peruvian communities persist in creating opportunities for inclusive education, I also intend to offer an example that can open the door for an inclusive intercultural education where all other excluded Peruvian groups can participate and be recognized.

The main key to start my research about Afro-Peruanity was the work of Nicomedes Santa Cruz Gamarra. His poetry and essays help me articulate and contextualize Afro-Peruvian reality inside Latin America as a cultural and historical force that emerged through the European colonization of the Americas. Assuming his perspective, I began to understand Afro-Peruvian tradition in connection with Afro-Latino traditions across the Americas. Then, I focused my attention on Afro-Latino political struggles for freedom and equality during colonial and Republican times. It was also Santa Cruz who introduced to me the idea of Negritude which in turn led me to the writings of Leopold Sedar Senghor and Aimee Cesaire, as well as to the Negrismo of Nicolas Guillen, and to the Harlem Renaissance of Langston Hughes, among other intellectuals who explore the African roots of the culture of the Americas and demanded political recognition for Afro-descendant peoples.

I present information on the history, principles, narratives, discussions, experiences, and examples in the Afro-Peruvian world, which can serve to build a more inclusive policy of Peruvian intercultural education, in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. In Chapter 6, I construct my own argument based on the historical and contemporary record recounted in the three preceding chapters.

The results of my historical research are concentrated in Chapter 3. This research examines written narratives. It is important to mention that Afro-Peruvian collective memories are in general “preserved” according to oral traditions, so most of the knowledge about their past is not in libraries so much as in stories, songs, poems, popular theater, community conversations and the knowledge of the elderly. However, due to time and funding constraints, this research just examined written history: texts based on ‘official history’ as well as selected counter narratives.

Chapters 4 and 5 answer the question about contemporary Afro-Peruvian contributions to current intercultural education. Chapter 4 discusses African and Afro-Peruvian philosophical, political, pedagogical, and sociological concepts that can enrich Peruvian intercultural education policy based on an exploration of essays of the Senegalese Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-2001), and the Peruvians Nicomedes Santa Cruz (1925-1992) and Jose Carlos Luciano Huapaya (1956-2002). I selected these three theorist/thinkers because their work was committed to the recognition of South Saharans and their descendants at global, African, Latin American, and Peruvian levels. My reading of their works focuses on their discussions about cross-cultural issues such as cultural colonialism, ethnocentrism, and racism. Also, my review looked for their political and ethical proposals to overcome these issues. Senghor’s principle of complementary equality among cultures, Santa Cruz’s proposal for the democratization of ‘mestizaje’, and the Luciano’s demand for a decolonized language to construct democratic social identities were some of the most important concepts that I analyze in this chapter. Then, I tried to infer how these concepts could improve visions of Peruvian interculturality.

Chapter 5 examines intercultural education proposals coming from Afro-Peruvian community educators and activists in nonprofit organizations. This chapter presents the results of qualitative research that included fieldwork to collect the data. The fieldwork focuses on the emerging intercultural education conceptions and proposals of Afro-Peruvian activists. Most of the data was collected through revision of handbooks, magazines, books, videos, and other internal and external documents as well as personal interviews for clarifying critiques and proposals that I found in documents. I discuss my fieldwork below.

The Human Linkages in my Research Process

Personal connections and networks that led me to conduct my initial, exploratory interviews with Afro-Peruvian activists. Regarding my decision to focus on Afro-Peruvian nonprofits for documentation of current Afro-Peruvian contributions to intercultural education, I followed suggestions from Lopez Schmidt and Laura Valdiviezo to work with the CEDET and Lundu nonprofits, and with the Yapatera High School in Piura. I remember that Lopez Schmidt said to me in a phone conversation: “Yapatera es la cuna de la Negritud piurana” [Yapatera is the cradle of Piura Negritude] (personal Communications, 2009). Following Lopez Schimdt’s advice, I emailed the President of Lundu, the poet and activist Monica Carrillo, and she agree to collaborate with me on my research.

The process by which one contact led to another has been described as the “snow-ball sampling technique” in qualitative research literature (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). This non-random sampling method involves relying on the insights and connections of study participants to recruit future participants. Snowball sampling is particularly useful in situations where the possible participants are likely to know each other, and are more likely to trust someone from

outside the network who comes recommended by someone who is known to them, as is certainly the case among Afro-Peruvian educators and activists.

Exploring what was both an unknown and familiar world for me, I found the website of the nonprofit, Cimarrones, and I began to communicate with Carlos Lopez Schmidt (one of the founders of this nonprofit and a video producer) by email and phone (2005). Cimarrones is an active participant in Afro-Peruvian civil society, and fosters the strength and development of Afro-Peruvian people through cultural production and communication networks (film, video, theater, radio, artistic direction, scripts, booklets, and publications). Further contacts with Lopez led me to Susana Baca in Boston, who is one of the most highly recognized Afro-Peruvian artists and social activists, who I interviewed in 2006 (she has been appointed Ministry of Culture on July 2011 by the new Peruvian government). A friend of mine, Daniel Zamalloa, who is an Andean musician, put me in contact with Lalo Izquierdo, an Afro-Peruvian musician who has been living in California for two decades. I interviewed Izquierdo by phone (2006).

Articles I published on Afro-Peruvian issues on the Cimarrones website led to contacts with Carlos Velarde from CEDET, another Afro-Peruvian nonprofit; in 2008 (we realized in our first communications that we had attended the same high school a few years apart). These names and contacts are illustrative of the network of Afro-Peruvian activists I joined as my formal knowledge of the Afro-Peruvian experience grew.

My contact at the Yapatera High School Principal came through a friend, Lily Guevara Chapilliquen, who is a journalist in Piura city. (The school did not have telephone and internet access, so I relied on personal contacts). Although I had not visited Yapatera before, I was familiar with Piura city and the towns around Yapatera. I completed 3rd grade in Sullana (Piura

region) and spent several family vacations with my father's relatives and old friends who lived in those areas. In addition, I had worked in Piura for two years (1989-1990).

Fieldwork

I met educators and the members of the nonprofits, collected written documents, and conducted interviews with them during two research trips, in June/July 2009, and in September/October 2010.

Like most Peruvians, Afro-Peruvian community activists are not familiar with U.S. academic protocols for signed consents. Additionally, the political environment for Afro-Peruvians activists and educators was unsafe, as I will explain later through two particular events that I observed on my trips. Therefore, it was impossible to formalize the interviews by requiring the signing of agreements, using tape-recorders, or taking notes during the interviews themselves. All the participants were unwilling to sign documents that attached their names to my research. They clearly expressed that they did not want their opinions linked to their names.

I made a personal commitment to keep confidentiality. This was an oral agreement based on personal trust rather than a written and signed formal agreement. This approach has often been used by researchers discussing sensitive topics and in sensitive or risky environments (Fontes, 2005). The interviewees clearly knew the intentions of my conversations with them and consented to (and in some cases were delighted to) contribute to my work. The ability to speak in Spanish with the activists and educators directly, without our conversations being mediated by paperwork or a recording device, lent the conversations a sense of authenticity and familiarity which I believe were key to achieving the openness necessary for the communication.

The conversations worked well and allowed the interviewees and me to exchange opinions and personal experiences that many times were not directly related to the research but helped strengthen our trust bonds. We held extended conversations in which I embedded my questions about intercultural education policy. After these conversations, I took careful note of the content related to intercultural education policy.

My interviewees were generous, giving me various kinds of information and materials such as CDs, posters, handbooks, curriculum projects, newsletters, etc., so I could further explore their critiques and proposals. These conversations allowed me to appreciate the work on Afro-Peruvian communities done by the Afro-Peruvian sociologist José Carlos Luciano Huapaya. I decided to include some of his contributions in Chapter 4. I keep in contact by email with many of my interviewees. I inform them about my research process and send them clarification questions as needed. Since our communications were completely in Spanish, I use their words in Spanish followed by a translation into English. I think that it is important to honor the language of my sources and participants, and also to offer to bilingual readers opportunities to interpret their words in new ways.

Political Context: My Return for Fieldwork in Peru

A month after my dissertation proposal was approved (May 2009), I went to Peru to meet in person with the CEDET and Lundu nonprofits as well as the Yapatera High School. This was my first trip to my home country in seven years. I saw new buildings, construction, and shopping malls, all indicators (as the Peruvian government maintained) of Peruvian economic growth and free trade agreements.

Within a few hours of landing, it was clear that issues of colonization, racial and social class conflict, exploitation, and resistance had not been reduced in my seven year absence. Indeed, they seemed more relevant in the public awareness than ever. Two events reflect the constraints of the political environment that explain my decision to avoid signed consent forms. The first event happened at the time of my first visit. The U. S. and the Peruvian governments were concluding negotiations for a *Free Trade Agreement (FTA)*. This negotiation was secret but it was supposed to be approved by the Peruvian Congress. A few weeks before my arrival, it was made public that the *FTA* was going to reduce Indigenous land rights in the Amazonian region in order to favor United States corporations interested in exploiting natural resources such as oil, gold, and wood. Previous national and international laws and agreements protected these Indigenous peoples' rights. The Peruvian Secretary of Trade declared to national media that the *FTA* would not be signed by the U. S. if Peru did not give those benefits to U. S. corporations. In response to this plan, Amazonian Indigenous people began to organize demonstrations against the *FTA* and they asked for solidarity from the rest of society.

A few days before my arrival, there was a bloody confrontation between demonstrators and police forces in the Amazonian city of Bagua. Thirteen civilians and 20 police officers were killed. It became clear that the police, following orders, had initiated the violence by attacking demonstrators. National media called this incident "el Baguazo." The government described Indigenous as savage groups and the *criollo*/official media supported the government plan about the *FTA*.

The acts of violence and the ensuing debate concerning Free Trade reflected the intensity of a history of colonial tensions between Indigenous and *criollo* (Hispanic) peoples. In addition,

the new neo-colonial relationship between Peru and the United States has exacerbated those tensions. Only a few intellectuals pointed out that anti-Indigenous racism was a key factor influencing state decisions about how to handle this issue. In Lima city, the heart of the Hispanic culture, the media supported the Peruvian state position in the trade agreement although some of them criticized the repressive methods and violence.

According to the media and state officials, this trade agreement was going to promote the national's economic development. The media portrayed Amazonian people as savages and the President called them 'second class citizens.' Furthermore, media that supported the Peruvian government accused the Venezuelan government of having manipulated the savage Indigenous people. At the same time, the media developed an awareness campaign against the swine flu epidemic that advised people against attending massive demonstrations in the cities.

A few days after my arrival, I attended a roundtable about racism in Latin America organized by different nonprofits. Intriguingly, only one Afro-Peruvian speaker at the table analyzed the crisis between the Peruvian government and the Amazonian Indigenous people as an expression of institutional racism. In a personal conversation about reasons for this silence from the rest of speakers, an Afro-Peruvian person who also attended the same conference mentioned to me that most Peruvian nonprofits were funded by international cooperation and this mainly comes from the U. S. government and foundations, and international organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations. Particularly, this conference had the U. S. embassy as one of its sponsors. A public speech criticizing methods used by the current Peruvian government against Indigenous people could jeopardize one of the most important sources of funding for Peruvian nonprofits that usually have to struggle with a scarcity of resources. I've

described the public opinion divisions concerning the Free Trade Agreement Peru-USA and the violence ('el Baguazo') above, in connection with the reluctance of my interviewees to sign official confidentiality agreements, or participate in taped interviews because these things can put their institutions at risk.

The second event happened in my second trip to Peru in 2010. The Yapatera High School in Piura (Northern Peru) was struggling to get a computer laboratory from local government offices. The implementation of the laboratory was promised and postponed several times by the highest regional authority. I participated in a demonstration at the entrance of the government local offices. Staff from Yapatera High School then asked me to participate in the negotiations between political authorities and school representatives (the principal, teachers, and students). I accepted that and, during the negotiation, I argued that access to quality education was a human right and, at the same time, a constitutional right for Peruvian citizens. The negotiation finished with a timeline to implement the computer laboratory project. The laboratory was delivered at the beginning of the 2011 school year but at the same time, the principal was removed by government authorities, which Yapatera residents interpreted unanimously as an act of revenge (personal conversation, 2011).

Contacts and Networks, Interviews & Fieldwork

As noted earlier, I conducted fieldwork in Peru in June to July 2009 and in September/October 2010, following initial contacts established before I left University of Massachusetts, Amherst for Peru. I pursued a network of informants which emerged, following the "snowball technique" described earlier. I taped formal interviews whenever possible, but was more reliant on off-the-cuff information conveyed in office meetings or informal

interactions. These conversations were noted as soon afterwards as possible in extensive research notebooks that I maintained throughout this study. Much of what I describe below concerning my participants is drawn from these researcher-notebooks. I have already commented on the impossibility of “signed consent” forms in an environment in which Afro-Peruvian activism is maintained as an alternative to, or at times in defiance of the educational policies of the state.

- I planned to start by interviewing Monica Carrillo, the president of Lundu. I went to Lundu offices on Tuesday, June 23, 2009. These were in the old and middle class district of Pueblo Libre (138-A Bolivar Avenue). But there, I found she was ill, and no one else at Lundu knew about my visit. Her secretary scheduled a meeting the next day with Erika Reyes Guzman, Lundu’s coordinator of education and development. Mrs. Reyes explained to me that Lundu was working on two education projects: first, the design of a program for intercultural and anti-racist education for pre-school; second, the organization of an international conference about Afro-Latino and Afro-Peruvian studies in Lima.
- Based on this information, I agreed that my dialogue and communication with Lundu focused on these two projects. Mrs. Reyes and I agreed that I would help them design the intercultural and anti-racist program, and help organize the conference, in exchange for their collaboration with my doctoral research. She gave a copy of the draft of the pre-school program and invited me to collaborate with the Afro-Peruvian festival organized by Lundu a few days later. Meanwhile, I read the 50-page program draft, recorded my comments and observations, and

returned it to the Lundu office. The draft was developed by an independent group of education consultants: Gabriela Rose, Miguel Garcia y Rossana Mendoza.

- Later that week, I went to CEDET offices located in Breña district in the border with the historic downtown of Lima city. I met Carlos Velarde, the manager of projects who introduced me to Lilia Mayorga, the manager of communications, and Susana Matute, the manager of education. They invited me to CEDET's international celebration of its 10th anniversary. They also offered advice for my trip to Yapatera and contacted CEDET members there. Before leaving, I bought books which introduced me to the work of the Afro-Peruvian sociologist, José Carlos Luciano, whom I decided to include as one of Afro-Peruvian intellectuals in my research.
- That weekend I attended the Afro-Peruvian Cultural Festival 'Soy Afro-Descendiente... ¿y tú?' [I am Afro-descendant...and you?] organized by Lundu. This was located in the central square (Parque Pedro Ruis Gallo) of the Lince district, a low middle class zone. A dozen artistic groups performed in this festival. They played reggae, hip hop, *criollo* and Afro-Peruvian music. Moreover, there were a dozen stands where university publishers, human rights nonprofits, women's organizations, artisan's organizations, Peruvian restaurants, Afro-Peruvian chefs, and Afro-Peruvian stylists promoted their work and products. Hundreds of people attended the event which lasted 10 hours. The event was sponsored by the City Hall of Lince, Ford Foundation, and the NGOs IWHC, AJWS, COOPI, and Empower. At this event, I finally met Monica Carrillo, who,

as it turned out, is the daughter of a very popular teacher from my elementary school.

The following week I went to Ica city, one of the areas most affected by the 2007 earthquake, where I witnessed massive construction projects and the widespread rebuilding of private houses and commercial buildings. The historic downtown and the ‘Señor de Luren Church’ (another Peruvian representation of the Black Christ) were still destroyed and abandoned.

- On July 2, 2009, I had a meeting with Reyes at Lundu. We exchanged ideas about the education projects mentioned earlier. At night, I accompanied Monica Carrillo (President of Lundu) and Rocio Muñoz (Lundu Director) to the inauguration ceremony of activities for CEDET’s 10th anniversary, held at the Spanish Cultural Center. Activities included an international conference about ethnicity, gender, and power in Latin American and Caribbean regions. These activities were sponsored by the Spanish and U.S. embassies, Federico Villareal University, KIOS (Finnish human rights NGO), and the Ford Foundation. I met Oswaldo Bilbao Lobaton, CEDET director, at this ceremony.
- On July 3, 2009, I observed the validation of the intercultural and anti-racist curriculum at ‘El Olivar de los Niños’ pre-school in Callao district. Four pilot classes were implemented for 4, 5, and 6 year old children. Each class was given by a teacher and a paraprofessional and lasted about 35 minutes. Each classroom had about 22 students, both girls and boys, who were very excited about these classes. There were three evaluators from the intercultural education office of the

Ministry of Education. The consultants Gabriela Rose, Miguel Garcia y Rossana Mendoza implemented these classes. After the school classes, the three consultants conducted a focus group about moral education, social discrimination, and anti-racist education with six parents/tutors. When the consultants asked these parents/tutors if they had ever noticed any kind of racial discrimination in the school community, all of them said “no.”

- From July 7 to 9, 2009, I attended the 3rd International Conference ‘Escenarios y Perspectivas de las Mujeres Afro-Descendientes en Peru, Latin America y el Caribe’ [Scenarios and Perspectives of Women of African Descent in Peru, Latin America, and the Caribbean] where I attended panels regarding Afro-Peruvian women specifically and Afro-Latino and Afro-Caribbean women more generally.
- On July 11, 2009, I traveled by bus to Piura (Northern Peru) in order to visit Yapatera High School, an 18 hour trip. I arrived on July 12 and the Ministry of Education announced that it was starting vacation three days early as a way to prevent the spread of swine flu in the country. That reduced my visit to the school to two days.
- On July 13, 2009, I went to Yapatera. As soon as I entered the school I got the news that there was a new principal, Edabil Barranzuela Soluco, who did not know about my communication with the former principal. Happily, after our introductions, she was very interested in my research project. She told me that she was a resident in Yapatera and her late husband had been a member of the Francisco Congo Black Movement, so she knew some members of CEDET. She

summoned all the teachers to a meeting on July 14 at 7:30am, where I introduced myself and presented my project. Teachers showed great interest and personal concern about issues of racism, sexism, and social exclusion in education. The teachers themselves were mestizos with African, Indigenous, and Hispanic roots. I then visited and conducted a formal interview with the Afro-Peruvian poet, Fernando Barranzuela. The interview was published on July 19 by El Tiempo, the oldest newspaper in Piura. The poet Barranzuela was the uncle of the new Yapatera High School Principal; I mention this to show the importance of personal networks in conducting research in the relatively small Afro-Peruvian community.

- I went to Peru for second time in September and October of 2010. On September 27, I visited Yapatera High School and I had a conversation with the principal and some teachers. We agreed that over next few days, in addition to my conversations with the principal and teachers, I would visit several classrooms to make a presentation about Afro-Peruvian history. On September 28, I did a presentation entitled ‘African Roots of Peru’ for two classes of senior students.
- On September 29 I was supposed to continue my presentations in junior classes, but the school community decided to postpone all classes that day in order to demonstrate in front of offices of the regional school demanding the implementation of a computer lab in the school. The postponed classes were taught the following Saturday. I joined the demonstration and—at the school’s request--participated in the negotiation with authorities. The school also asked me

to take photographs of the demonstration, which I then published along with photos in a blog for Peruvians living in other countries (www.elquintosuyo.com), and in a local Piura newspaper, I describe this event in Chapter 5.

- After this event, I spent the afternoon with the principal and teachers analyzing the situation at political, economic, and social levels. During this long conversation many personal experiences were shared. I decided to stay one more day at Yapatera town in order to get to know its social reality better. At night, I visited Abelardo Zamora, one of the town's writers. We talked about literature and the town's recent political projects and struggles.
- On Monday 4, October 2010, I visited the offices of Lundu and had a conversation with the president, Monica Carrillo. She informed me that the intercultural and antiracist curriculum project had not gotten additional funding and Lundu was struggling to obtain new funds to be able to continue with the project. Even so, they had to cut the staff member in charge. Also, she described Lundu's different activities, especially a national seminar to discuss the importance of creating Afro-Peruvian courses in Peruvian universities and a national campaign against racist content in media. This campaign spread through the whole society and, on 2010, Peruvian Congress began to discuss laws to penalize racism. These laws were passed on 2011.
- On Tuesday 5, I visited CEDET and participated in a meeting to design the Fourth International Seminar on Intercultural and Ethno-Education for September 2011 in Lima. I had been invited to present a paper about the 'Erased African Roots in

Official History'. Since then, I have kept in contact mainly by email with teachers at Yapatera High School and activists at CEDET and Lundu.

Researcher-Activists/Subject Interactions and Reciprocity

I had not connected with the Afro-Peruvian community in a political way while I lived in Peru because my political identity was separate from my ethnic identity. Ironically, I acquired my awareness of the links between race, ethnicity and politics in the United States, where political discourse is often related to racial awareness.

I wanted to be accepted by this group of Afro-Peruvian activists because I thought that being trusted as an insider-outsider was going to open wider communication than being seen merely as an outsider (Tinker & Armstrong, 2008). I thought that trust and reciprocity between us was the key to building transparency in the interviews. I not only did not want to be seen as a researcher who was using the interviews to collect information for his own professional goals, I also sought a genuinely reciprocal relationship, which is one of the most important ethical principles in Peruvian Indigenous and African traditions.

In our previous communication by email and phone calls, I emphasized my desire for reciprocity in our exchanges. I offered to share with them the results of my dissertation as a tool for their educational discussions and projects. I asked them to assign me tasks that would be of value to them and that I could complete during my time in Peru. I told them that they could count on me for advice or information about U.S. universities and materials published in the United States.

The majority of my Afro-Peruvians activist/informants showed caution in my initial encounters with them. Coming from a U.S. university, I was at risk of being seen as an outsider – even worse, as a spy for the U.S. Imperialist actions have created deep suspicions in the ways Latin Americans view anyone with U.S. connections. Additionally, Peru’s own history of internal oppression and political persecution increased the likelihood that Afro-Peruvian activists, in particular, might view me with mistrust.

My research was not focused on any personal dimensions of activist/informants’ experiences as Afro-Peruvian activists and teachers. Instead, my purpose was to explore their current views on current Peruvian intercultural education policy and their proposals to improve it. However, I discovered that for my interviewees—as for me—their personal experiences and identities as Afro-Peruvians influenced their views of Peruvian educational policies and practices.

In general, it took more than one conversation with a person to establish trust. They learned that I am Afro-Peruvian, and that my doctoral area is social justice education. Nonetheless, my accent was that of an outsider after many years living in Amherst, Massachusetts. My slang was out of date and I missed some cultural references, such as references to political television programs. To compensate, I shared personal anecdotes that demonstrated my Afro-Peruvian identity in Lima and Piura. For example, I let them know that I played ‘fútbol’ (soccer) for the youth division of Alianza Lima, a symbol of Afro-Peruvians. In turn, they shared personal anecdotes with me and we were able to laugh together. Laughing together is an act that opens human communication and friendship among Afro-Peruvians.

It immediately became clear that taking notes and using a tape recorder was not conducive to trust. I had to put these away immediately. People stopped talking almost as soon as

I asked their permission to record the conversations electronically or with written notes. There is a political history of espionage that creates immediate (and well-founded) suspicion of any taking of notes and using recorders. Some of the people who spoke with me had been persecuted by the government due to their affiliation with leftist parties and workers' unions. Some of them had lived in hiding for years. Further, most of these activist/informants were not familiar with academic interviews and felt intimidated by procedures which increased the formality of the conversations.

Despite these challenges, our communications became fluid and open in the context of informal conversations. The only interviews I could tape were those with the Afro-Peruvian poet Fernando Barranzuela and the Yapatera High School principal, Edabil Barranzuela.

In a variety of ways I tried to reduce the distance between myself and the interviewees. These may seem like small matters but they were all attempts to build trust. At points I was concerned about social class differences between myself and some of the respondents. Although I do not come from a highly privileged family, I belong to the Peruvian middle class and attended private schools and college, and received scholarships that enabled me to study in the United States. Fortunately, there were two personal connections regarding my high school, since one of my respondents had attended my high school and the father of another had taught there. In regard to studying in the U.S., I was careful to mention that I had received a scholarship to study there.

I was able to reduce the distance between myself and the interviewees in other ways during my interviews in Yapatera, which is a rural town in the Piura region. For instance, my last name is extremely common in Piura, so simply stating my last name made me seem familiar to

some activist/informants in that city. In the context of Yapatera, my last name was like a membership card, because it is one of the most common surnames in the region. Actually, there were some Valdiviezos in Yapatera to whom I may be related. When I would call and state my name in Piura city, I would be asked, “Martin Valdiviezo from the shoemaker?” “No.” “From the market?” “From the drugstore?” etc. It was comical but it also helped me establish familiarity.

My Subjectivity in this Research Process

In some ways, who we think we are shapes what we perceive, which we usually call ‘reality.’ Images of one’s self delimit what we can desire and what we can know from our human and natural environments. In many ways, in exploring reality we are projecting our interests and exploring ourselves, even when we are working on subjects that might seem scientific and objective, and the new information we acquire enables us to understand ourselves in new ways. In some way, our subjectivity constitutes its objects, but our subjectivity is also self-constructed based on the knowledge of its objects. That is, what a researcher sees is shaped, in part, by the researcher’s perspective, and the researcher, in turn is shaped by that which is around him/her (Husserl, 1970).

This connection between representations of ‘who knows’ and ‘what is known’ also conditions our choice of methodologies. We choose the methodology that seems most appropriate both to our individual cognitive patterns and to the essence of the problem being investigated. The method is the bridge between ‘who’ (the investigator) and the ‘what’ (the issue investigated). We cannot forget, however, that the method also determines what we will overlook. That is, while the method illuminates certain areas and throws a spotlight on them, it also relegates other areas to the dark shadows where they become invisible. As the blind Latin

American poet and author, Jorge Luis Borges, wrote in one of his short-stories, “cada uno ve lo que comprende” [everyone sees what she/he understands].

Interestingly, when our sense of who we think we are changes, our interests and perceptions of reality also change. And so does our personal narrative. According to our present identity, our past seems to adopt a new face. I do not think that different narratives of the same individual are incompatible. Rather, we all have the capacity to see and experience reality in different ways at the same time. We might feel the same experience in different ways depending on which of our multiple social identities (social class, gender, culture, nationality) are most salient at the moment (Hardiman, 2010).

It has become clear to me that my research about intercultural education policy and Afro-Peruvian tradition has been shaped in part by my emerging identity as a Peruvian who is also an Afro-Peruvian, and in part by my long-standing political engagement with the development of a democratic and intercultural citizenship in Peru. The following sections of this chapter focus on some of the issues that connect the self-as-researcher with the objects of investigation through an exploration of my researcher-identity, processes, and methodology.

My Socialization in a *Mestizo* Country

I was born in Peru and I attended primary and secondary school during the 1970s, primarily in Lima, the capital city. School books and classes introduced to me an official narrative that described Peruvian society as stemming from two roots: the Inca past and the Hispanic present. Pictures in history books showed only the faces of people related to these two

roots. I was expected to become part of this *mestizo* society, shaped by the duality of Indigenous and Spanish peoples.

In 1972, a socialist and indigenist military government launched education reform that redefined the power relationship between these cultures. This government promoted the glorification of Indigenous people and culture. The leader of the largest Indigenous rebellion during colonial times, Tupac Amaru II (1780-1782), became a central hero in state discourses and patriotic ceremonies.

My classmates at my all-male Catholic school were not just Spanish-Indigenous *mestizo* children. As clearly as I can remember there were Chinese, Japanese, Afro-Peruvian, Arab, and Italian *mestizo* children too. Also, there was a silent idea of *mestizaje* at my family circle that challenged the dual-root tradition of Hispanic and Indigenous. I remember that my relatives did not want to discuss racial issues. Their favorite sentence to stop any talk about racism when this arose was: “El que no tiene de Inga tiene de Mandinga” [“Whoever does not have Indigenous roots, has African ones”].

Interestingly, however, my family also used racial categories to identify our own relatives and other people. For example, I got the nickname ‘El Negro’ [the Black one] at home. My classmates gave me the same nickname at school and others extracted nicknames from Peruvian literature and songs, all related to my darker skin: ‘Matalaché’ and ‘Payandé.’ Moreover, I was given my middle name, ‘Martin,’ in honor of Saint Martin de Porres, a Peruvian Catholic mystic and the first Black saint of Latin America (1579-1639). My middle name was the only name that I used until I came to the United States. I think that for most Peruvian people, ‘Martín’ matched me better than Luis because of my physical appearance.

The most invisible people in my childhood world were the housemaids. They worked at my home and in the majority of houses I visited in different cities. They also accompanied my family on vacation trips to the beach or the countryside. Almost all of these women had an Indigenous or African appearance. Some of them spoke Indigenous languages, came from rural areas and did not have formal education. A few of them had been working for the same family intergenerationally--their mothers were servants and they inherited the same labor in the same house, often while quite young, hanging on to their mothers' skirts. The socialist government recognized their workers' rights and demanded that employing families provide them with salaries, social security, education, and health programs. They came to be officially called 'domestic workers' rather than 'servants.' This government also launched agrarian reform and promoted public education in rural areas.

As I write this I especially remember Zoila, an Indigenous *mestizo* woman who worked since her teenage years in the house of my grandmother. She was affectionate with me and, despite not being formally schooled; she conveyed the importance of being a professional. When my grandmother died in the 1970s, Zoila continued living in my grandmother's apartment and we visited her as we would visit a beloved aunt until she died in the 1980s.

All ten of my mother's and father's siblings have different skin tones and at least one on each side has clear African features. In addition, many national stars in arts and sports spheres were identifiable Afro-Peruvians. I remember watching Nicomedes Santa Cruz's show, *Danzas y Canciones del Perú* on a national TV channel where he used to invite popular singers, musicians, and dancers from coastal, Andean, and Amazonian regions of the country.

As I scan my early memory, I find many memories of Afro-Peruvians and other Peruvians not descended from Hispanic or Indigenous roots. My favorite professional soccer team was Alianza Lima, identified with Afro-Peruvians. The most massive religious procession across the country was that of the Black Christ, which gathered millions of people from different regions for more than a week in Lima. Grocery stores in my neighborhood and the neighborhoods I visited were run by Chinese Peruvians; parents used to send kids to buy candies from ‘el chino de la esquina’ [the Chinese guy on the corner]). Some of our favorite restaurants were ‘Chifas’ which is a word derived from Cantonese that means ‘Chinese Restaurant’ or ‘Chinese food’ in Peru. The *Japanese Peruvian Cultural Center* was located close to my house and there I attended my first martial arts classes. The biggest Synagogue in Lima was located in my district and there was a small Mosque close to my primary school. Clearly, there was a gap between the official narrative about Peruvian *mestizo* identity and the diversity of the social reality that I encountered at school and home.

When I went to a Catholic private college in the 1980s, I found that there was a kind of consensus in the academic world to erase ‘race.’ The intellectual climate established that ‘race’ was a ‘real thing’ only for racists such as Nazi followers and South African colonizers, not Peruvians. There was no reason to discuss racism as a social problem in Peru if one accepted that racism was a problem only for uneducated Peruvians who maintained colonial prejudices about physical appearances. Racism was considered an isolated mental disease that affected only some individuals in Peru. Issues of oppression and discrimination were reduced to struggles among social classes, differences in levels of education and/or social skills. Even the official discourse about *mestizaje* was considered obsolete and out of fashion by my college years in the 1980s.

One result of the silence concerning race is the absence of academic research about Afro-Peruvians or other Peruvians not rooted in Indigenous or Hispanic family traditions. Ethnic studies were tied to anthropology, a discipline mainly focused on Andean and Amazonian rural Indigenous people.

Yet, as I became aware of these silences in college, I also was experiencing greater diversity of skin color and ethnic roots at this college, far more so than at my previous schools. In college I also met students with Jewish, German, and French ancestors.

Most of the Peruvian history we read at college was focused on economic and political processes. In that context, it was shocking for me to discover that Jorge Basadre, one of the most important Peruvian historians, a socialist and democratic intellectual, reproduced racist stereotypes about Afro-Peruvians in a few paragraphs of a book of historical essays *Perú: Problema y Posibilidad* (1931, reprinted 1981, citation in bibliography).

Se ha dicho que tienen los negros la ligereza, la imprevisión, la volubilidad, la tendencia a la mentira, la inteligencia viva y limitada, la pereza para el trabajo, que el niño tiene. Su influencia correspondió a esos caracteres [It has been said that Blacks have a childlike agility, lack of foresight, volubility, a tendency to lie, a lively but limited intelligence, and laziness for work. Their influence on Peruvian history corresponds to those characteristics] (p. 128).

By the end of my college education, I knew almost nothing about Afro-Peruvian history other than a few disconnected family and popular oral traditions. Afro-Peruvian individuals like me were seen as intruders in exclusive urban neighborhoods and rural Indigenous towns,

sometimes harassed by the police as I, myself, experienced. Despite our presence on the streets and in popular culture, we had an identity that official discourses did not recognize as legitimate. For the official culture, we did not have our own strand or dimension of Peruvian history.

Discovery of Afro-Peruvian Identity and Intellectual Work

My curiosity and concern about Afro-Peruvian identity and history emerged at the beginning of my graduate studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, in the fall of 2002. My research about issues of intercultural education, social diversity, and democracy led me to think systemically about the formation of collective identities and memory, colonization, oppression, and decolonization which were critically examined in different courses offered by Education, Sociology, Afro-American, Communication, and Spanish graduate departments.

In 2004, I graduated from the master's program in International Education at the University of Massachusetts and I began a doctoral program in Social Justice Education. The same year, my sister, Laura, who was completing a doctoral program in International and Transcultural Studies at Teachers College, Columbia University, was developing fieldwork in schools serving Indigenous communities in Peru for her dissertation. This opened up to me the possibilities for focusing my own dissertation research on intercultural education and Afro-Peruvian traditions.

These varied influences led me to explore Afro-Peruvian identity and history to begin my own process of personal decolonization while promoting the decolonization of the Peruvian education system. At the beginning, I had to resort to my own experience and intuition, because Afro-Peruvian social reality was little known, even among African Diaspora scholars in the U. S.

Designing the Dissertation

For my dissertation proposal, I linked the concept of intercultural education policies with Afro-Peruvian ethical-political traditions to document the areas of invisibility within Peruvian intercultural education and to demonstrate how knowledge of Afro-Peruvian culture and traditions could inform education in Peru. My goal has been to propose an open dialogue where Indigenous and Hispanic traditions (already the two roots of official *mestizaje*), and Afro-Peruvian as well as other Peruvian traditions can build more inclusive national intercultural policies. My approach to these linked themes would be to explore the current discourse on Peruvian interculturality, the hints of Afro-Peruvian presence in early Peruvian history, and then to document the current Afro-Peruvian discourse.

The bridge between traditional Peruvian intercultural education and the possibilities inherent in contemporary Afro-Peruvian activism was built, for me, by the work of Santa Cruz, and before him, the work of Leopold Sedar Senghor. Senghor was an important influence on Santa Cruz's anti-colonial and anti-racist perspective and vision and highlighted the importance of cross-cultural dialogues both as a political principle and as a way to decolonize international relationships. Considering that dialogue between cultures has been considered to be the main element in traditional Peruvian interculturality, that is, between Indigenous and Hispanic traditions, Senghor offered a broader approach to interculturality through decolonization. The decision to use these texts meant that I would need to translate key passages from Santa Cruz and Senghor, who wrote in Spanish and French respectively. Although I am not a professional translator, I did my best effort to offer satisfactory translations of selected sections for my dissertation, written in English.

Scope and Limits

In this chapter, I have attempted to outline aspects of my personal background as a middle class Afro-Peruvian that have led me to an academic interest and personal connections to Afro-Peruvian identity and history. I have described the process I used to identify and contact the contemporary Afro-Peruvian activists and organizations that I thought would best help me illuminate my topic. I enumerated my contacts with various participants, and described my choice of the other materials that inform this study. I also described how I presented and negotiated my identity with my Peruvian contacts, and especially my struggle with insider/outsider status.

At the same time, my present interests explain but do not justify my neglect of important related topics that are not the focus of this study. For instance, my inquiry did not articulate deeply the connections between ethnicity and gender. In future research, I would like to explore the intersection between gender and ethnicity in Afro-Peruvian and Afro-Latino/a communities, and its relevance for education.

CHAPTER 3

THE ERASED AFRICAN IN THE PERUVIAN PAST

Cuántos fueron esos desconocidos personajes que auxiliaron con sus esfuerzos y trabajos la epopeya de la conquista del Nuevo Mundo; mientras los unos (españoles) se cubrían de gloria, sus desconocidos compañeros (subsaharianos) vivieron y murieron en el más completo olvido y anonimato [How many were these unknown persons who helped conquer the New World with their labor? While the Spaniards cloaked themselves in Glory, their unknown South Saharan companions lived and died in the most complete oblivion and anonymity] (María Rostworowski, 2000, 27).

Introduction

The close relationship between marginalizing historical narratives and the lack of social recognition was emphasized by the final report of *Encuesta Nacional sobre Exclusión y Discriminación Social* [National Survey of Social Exclusion and Discrimination] of DEMUS:

En nuestra sociedad, el aporte de muchos de los diferentes grupos étnicos y culturales a nuestra historia colectiva es poco reconocido. Esta invisibilización contribuye en cierta medida a que prácticas de discriminación y exclusión social se sigan reproduciendo contra estos grupos [In our society, the contribution of many different ethnic and cultural groups to our collective history is little recognized. This invisibility contributes to continuing practices of discrimination and social exclusion against these groups] (2005, 18).

South Saharans and Afro-Peruvians occupied the bottom of the colonial social hierarchy and their capacity as creators of culture was denied by dominant the discourse for centuries. In order to realize the potential benefits of Afro-Peruvian intellectual traditions for Peruvian interculturality, Peruvian society must face the remaining colonial bias which erases the existence and value of Afro-Peruvian culture. Even today, theses prejudices are reproduced by multiple discriminatory images of Afro-Peruvians in media, popular jokes, and public statements of authorities. These kinds of representations strengthen existent structural racial inequalities in Peruvian society. For example, access to qualified jobs largely depends on physical appearance and the social connections of professional workers. Applicants are expected to include their photographs with job applications and personnel advertisements use to request ‘good appearance,’ which is a coded term for European appearance. Some private corporations require that applicants come from specific private schools or universities. All these restrictions constrain the social mobility of Afro-Peruvians and other non-European groups in the working class sector. Hence, Afro-Peruvians have few possibilities for moving from working class to middle or upper class. This chapter deals with the historical construction of this discrimination as well as with the Afro-descendants contribution to the construction of the Peruvian society.

In the first part of this chapter, I discuss the erasure of South Saharan people by colonial chroniclers who supported the Spanish crown’s project in Peru as well as by Republican historians who defended the *criollo*’s state project. I have selected texts of Pedro Cieza de León (1520-1554), Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616), José de la Riva Agüero y Osma (1885-1944), and Jorge Basadre (1903-1980) to illustrate this erasure. These authors have become key voices in the construction of Peruvian official history. My most important findings were that there was a methodology in the official narrative to make invisible South Saharan’s participation

in historic events. When it was not possible to keep them completely invisible in their writings, South Saharans and Afro-Peruvians were listed under the general term of ‘Black/s’, without proper names and voices. Finally, when historians made judgments about them, they were usually described as intellectually and morally inferior as compared to the more illustrious Spanish/Hispanic and Indigenous peoples.

In the second part of this chapter, I will offer a brief account of Afro-Peruvian history based on Afro-Peruvian counter-narratives such as those from Nicomedes Santa Cruz as well as allied narratives such as those from Luis Millones, Fernando Romero, Dennis Cuché, and Carlos Aguirre, among others.

I use the word ‘Afro-Peruvian’ to refer to Peruvian individuals with South Saharan ancestors and their social and cultural expressions. Provisionally, I do not include under ‘Afro-Peruvian’ category the descendants of North Saharan peoples such as Berbers and Arabs who also belong to Peruvian society and have contributed to the national tradition, but whose lighter skin color afforded them more privileged social relationships and collective experiences in Peruvian history.

My theoretical approach to these counter-narratives was influenced by the works of Nicomedes Santa Cruz (1988) and Enrique Verastegui (1983), which express Peruvian Negritude thought. Santa Cruz and Verastegui’s works demonstrate that the struggle for freedom, equality, and solidarity among oppressed peoples are the thread to understanding the historical experience of Afro-descendants in Peru and Latin America. Mainly with those ideas in mind, I examine a set of books that expressed these alternative narratives in order to articulate a brief account of the Afro-Peruvian historical experience.

The De-humanization of South-Saharan People

In general, discourses of colonial chroniclers and Republican historians show a systematic denial of South Saharans as individuals with human subjectivity (will, perception, emotion, and intelligence). I identify this denial as a discursive practice of de-humanization. The de-humanization of individuals with these African identities was made throughout narratives that erase their names, histories, morality, and voice in the historical events in which they participated. In this way, their agency as historical actors remains invisible in official texts. These methodologies of de-humanization were based on a Euro-centric and racist worldview that legitimized the socio-political order imposed in part of the Americas by the Spanish monarchy during three centuries from 1527 to 1821.

This process of de-humanization of South Saharans' images reflected racist beliefs and practices that were common in Spain before the conquest of the New World. At the same time, these narratives facilitated the legalization of the extreme exploitation of South Saharans both in colonial and Republican times. The de-humanization of South Saharan descendants has made invisible what was collectively evident since the birth of the country in the 16th century: the participation of Afro-descendants in the works and struggles that have built Peru.

Cieza de León (1520-1554, from Spain) and Inca Garcilaso (1539-1616, from Peru) shared the ideal of a universal Christian Spanish empire, although both writers belonged to different continents, races, and cultures. Two major moral purposes of their writing were: first, to preserve the memory of the conquest as a saga where Spanish forces were continuously helped by divine providence; and second, to shape the relationship between Spanish conquerors and the Indigenous conquered according to the morality of renaissance humanism.

From the point of view of the Spanish/Catholic/imperialist conquerors, the Others in the Peruvian territory were the Incas (as the Arabs and the Jews were the Others in the Iberian peninsula). From their perspective, the Others (Indigenous, idolaters, and barbarians) should be subjugated. Then, the subjugated South Saharan people were placed inside a context dominated by this Spanish-Inca opposition. South Saharans were represented as tools of Spanish people and inferior to Incas. They were imagined by conquerors as part of the apparatus for the Spanish colonization of the Inca kingdom.

The denial of South Saharan subjectivity served, on one hand, to exaggerate the role of Spanish people during the conquest and colonization, by attributing to Spaniards alone certain acts and achievements that were actually wrought by the labor of South Saharan peoples. This exaggeration justified the rights and privileges in the Spanish administration of the colony. On the other hand, this denial facilitated the reduction of the legal rights of free South Saharan individuals and the annulment of the human rights of enslaved South Saharan people.

In addition, these methodologies of discursive de-humanization reinforced the Spanish myth of 'blood purity' that was fundamental for the legitimization of the socio-political order imposed by the Spanish crown in Peru. This racist myth was instrumental for using violence against South Saharan as well as Indigenous and Middle Eastern peoples. Racial categories established alleged essential differences among persons with different 'bloods.' According to this racial essentialism, the phenotype or ancestors of individuals determined their intellectual, moral, and physical condition and potential. These differences were connected inside an alleged pyramid of natural subordination among races. Castilian people were placed at the top and South

Saharan people were placed at the bottom of this pyramid, at an unclear border between human beings and animals.

According to Luis Millones (1973), the participation of South Saharans in the discovery and conquest of Peru was erased even by Spanish writers who participated with them in both processes. Millones recovers part of this Afro-Peruvian past by examining legal and administrative documents from that period, instead of chronicles:

La evidencia de estos hechos no sale a la simple lectura de las crónicas; gente tan cercana al terreno de los hechos como Pedro Sancho –secretario de Pizarro- se da el lujo de ignorar totalmente la participación negra en la conquista. La documentación para esta época tiene que ser recogida usando canales laterales como son los testamentos y probanza de servicio o haciendo inferencias de censos y recopilaciones tardías [The evidence of these facts is not in chronicles. People as close to the events as Pedro Sancho, secretary of Pizarro, decided to totally ignore Black participation in the conquest. Documentation for this period must be collected from secondary sources such as wills and letters of recommendation, and inferred from census and subsequent collections] (1973, 23).

This proposal unfortunately has not been followed yet by historians specialized in Peruvian colonial history.

The concealment of South Saharans as historical protagonists in these chronicles made it easy to reduce their image to that of an animal reality inside the Peruvian collective imagination. The denial of their human condition (de-humanization) has allowed Peruvians to avoid objecting

to their massive enslavement. As a consequence of this, the dominant culture categorized their languages, cultures, and religions as expressions of barbarism, superstition, or a pact with the devil. Treated as commercial objects by slave holders and traders, they were appreciated only as useful tools by their owners, who were subjects of Spanish monarchy and, three centuries later, citizens of the Peruvian Republic. Enslaved individuals were forced to serve an economic, political, and social order which was based on their own de-humanization. When enslaved individuals became elderly, disabled and/or sick, they were abandoned by their owners. However, when they liberated themselves by their own resources, they were demonized and accused of being pushed by evil, killer instincts, or sexual violence.

The Peruvian independent state began in 1821, thanks to military campaigns initiated by multi-ethnic battalions (Indigenous, Afro-descendants, Middle Eastern descendants, *criollos*, and *mestizos*). However, after independence, *criollo* groups took over the new state and reproduced the racist legislation against Indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples, with a few differences. In that way, *criollos* secured their monopoly on political and economic power as descendants of Spanish nobility. Therefore, Indigenous peoples were forced to pay a racial tax and Afro-Peruvians continued being forced to work as slaves. Both laws remained in force until 1854.

A turning point in the construction of the national identity took place after 1879, when Peruvian civilian and military forces were defeated by the Chilean military in the Pacific War. On one hand, the war showed that social gaps built by colonial and postcolonial racism made the country weak against foreign military invasions; on the other hand, *criollo* politicians needed to extend their popular base to strengthen their political power with mobilizations and votes. These two factors stimulated the search for a national identity where different sectors of Peruvian

society might be reconciled. At the end of the 19th century, *criollo* intellectuals created a more inclusive national identity, rescuing the *mestizaje* notion of the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. The complementary unity between Spanish and Inca peoples became the official symbol of the new Peruvian citizen. Nevertheless, indigenous people who were not Incas as well as African, Middle Eastern, and Asian Peruvians, were left out of this conception.

Meanwhile, the de-humanized image of Afro-Peruvians was systematically reproduced by enlightened discourses from the *criollo* elite (Velasquez 2005). Although slavery was abolished, the rhetoric of de-humanization of Afro-Peruvians continued. These discourses were used to oppose any attempt to make moral or economical reparations to ex-slaves and to keep them as cheap proletarians in plantations, houses, and factories in support of the Peruvian oligarchy.

The survival of colonial racism in post-colonial Peru is one of the biggest obstacles for the recognition of Afro-Peruvians and their inclusion in the public sphere. This racism still controls how Peruvian society perceives itself and forms its collective imagination. Within this imagination, the equality of Afro-Peruvians supposedly contradicts a natural order that is hierarchical, as is shown in Demus's survey on racial diversity (2005). These images have undermined Afro-Peruvian historical, moral, legal, and political achievements which should meet with recognition of their equality and dignity, especially since the Peruvian *Republic* is founded on the principles of freedom, equality, and solidarity. Racial oppression against Afro-Peruvians still happens in the work-place, financial, political, social, and cultural sectors.

The Conqueror Chronicler

Cieza de León arrived in the Americas in 1532 when he was a teenager and he stayed in the region for 17 years. He participated in the conquest of Nueva Granada and Peru, and decided to leave a written record of this process. Only the 1st book of his *Crónica del Perú* was published during his lifetime (Sevilla, 1553). In his will, he donated to Bartolomé de las Casas the unpublished 2nd and 3rd books of his *Crónica del Perú*. Through this, perhaps he was trying to express his support for the humanist campaign of the Chiapas bishop in favor of Indigenous people. Like De las Casas, Cieza describes the excessive cruelty of Spanish conquerors but without condemning the conquest project itself.

It is important to remember that all manuscripts for publication needed approval of the Spanish crown censor. A book with an open critique of the Spanish conquest could not get that permission in Spain. Authors of that kind of books were forced to find publishers in Protestant European countries. In fact, Cieza's second and third books were not published until three centuries later (1880 and 1877 respectively), when Spain had lost most of its colonies in the Americas.

Despite Cieza's moral principles, his third book also erases the historical participation of South Saharans. However, he left multiple signals of the decisive role performed by them since the first days of the discovery of Peru. For example, he noted that the first two men who visited a Peruvian city, Tumbes, were Alonso de Molina and a "negro." Cieza never mentioned the name of that South Saharan person. He only said what he was: 'a Black one.' This is the colonial way to refer to any South Saharan person and Cieza maintained this practice systematically across his writing:

Con esto se partió el Orejón; y ya que se iba, rogó al capitán le diese para que fuesen con él dos o tres españoles, que se holgarían de los ver. El capitán mandó a Alonso de Molina y a un negro que fuesen....Pero todo era nada para el asombro que hacían con el negro: como lo veían negro, mirábanlo, haciéndolo lavar para ver si su negrura era color o confección puesta; más él, echando sus dientes blancos de fuera, se reía [With this, the official left; and since he was going, begged the Spanish captain to allow two or three Spaniards to accompany him. He said that his people would like to know visitors. The captain sent Alonso de Molina and a negro....But this was nothing compared to the awe with which they greeted the negro: how black they saw him, they looked at him, they made him wash to see if his blackness was color or makeup; and he would laugh, flashing his white teeth] (1987, 55).

According to his account, the success of this small delegation was critical for the conquerors' plan. Cieza did not mention why the captain Pizarro included this South Saharan person in the delegation. However, we can infer that Pizarro's decision was based on this person's fluency in Spanish, intelligence, and social skills. As was written earlier, Pizarro wanted to know details about the city and, at the same time, he wanted the people of Tumbes to trust him.

From these paragraphs, the historian Mac-Lean y Estenos inferred that one of the thirteen members of the first expedition was a Black person (1948), although, it is possible that there were other South Saharan members in addition to those thirteen. The fact is that the Spanish official narrative did not ever mention Black individuals in the first expedition. Through these contradictions, it can be observed that there were South Saharans in first contacts between

aboriginal people and the Spanish crew. Therefore, the birth of the Peruvian nation was shaped by the encounter or collision among peoples of at least three continents: America, Africa, and Europe.

Each time that Cieza mentioned South Saharan individuals, he just wrote down “un negro” [a Black one], even when these individuals were the heroes who rescued the rest of their crews in critical situations. In general, South Saharan people were named in Spanish colonial chronicles as if they were objects without individual names, histories, feelings, and thoughts.

The Mestizo Chronicler

Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616) was the son of an Inca princess and a Spanish captain. He was born in Cusco, the capital city of the Inca’s kingdom. During his childhood, he experienced the conflict between two worlds at war in his dual identity of the oppressed native (although royal) and the oppressor invader. He was raised bilingual and bicultural under a colonization process that he justified later from a renaissance and universalistic point of view. However, he criticized the misunderstanding and excess of violence against aboriginal Peruvian people. Even though as a *mestizo* he was disdained by the dominant culture, he built a proud *mestizo* identity:

A los hijos de español y de india o de indio y española nos llaman “mestizos,” por decir que somos mezclados de ambas naciones ...por ser nombre impuesto por nuestros padres y por su significación ...me honro con él [We, sons of Spanish man and Indigenous woman, or Indigenous man and Spanish woman, are called

“mestizos” to say that we are mixed from both nations ... This name was created by our parents and due to its meaning ... I am proud of it] (1985b, 266).

The Spanish monarchy established laws postulating ‘purity of blood’ (without Jewish or Arab ancestors) as a sign of human excellence, beginning in 1449. This ‘purity’ would come to be considered the basis of an imperialistic organization. This was an extension of the Inquisition in Spain, which came to require not only proof of current religious practices but also proof of the purity of blood of its subjects. From the monarchic point of view, the Indigenous were impure people, and because of this, idolaters and barbarians. *Mestizo* people were also seen as having ‘impure blood.’ This blood legend morally justified the conquest of the New World. Garcilaso confronted the pure blood myth across his lifetime. He wrote the epitaph for his own tomb where he highlighted his double royalty, Spanish and Inca, his intellectual talents, and his Christian virtues.

The first book of Cieza’s *Crónica del Perú* was in Garcilaso’s private library along with different books of Greek and Latin writers. There were also books from the Italian renaissance such as the ‘Love’s Dialogues’ of Leon the Hebrew that Garcilaso translated into Spanish. As a historian, Garcilaso had a Christian and progressive conception of universal history where Spanish civilization was seeing as the next step up from the Inca’s civilization. From this vision, he valued the Inca’s culture and criticized moral and legal conditions imposed on Indigenous people by the Spanish crown:

...pretendo en este libro escribir sus costumbres, y policía y gobierno, para dos fines. El uno deshacer la falsa opinión que comúnmente se tiene dellos, como gente bruta y bestial, y sin entendimiento, o tan corto que apenas merece ese

nombre; del cual engaño se sigue hacerles muchos y muy graves agravios, sirviéndose de ellos poco menos que de animales, y despreciando cualquier género de respeto que se les tenga [In this book I intend to record their customs, policies and government, with two aims. The first is to disprove the false opinion that people commonly have of them, as brutish and bestial, without understanding, or just that they deserve this name; who may be tricked to their great detriment, taking advantage of them just like animals, and not offering any kind of respect to them] (1985b, 154).

Inca Garcilaso also recognized the contribution of South Saharan people in a few short sentences in his *Comentarios Reales*: “Lo mejor de lo que ha pasado a Indias se nos olvidaba, que son los españoles y los negros...aunque a los negros los esclavizaron después” [The best import to the New World...the Spanish and Black peoples] (1985b, 265). He also condemned the subsequent enslavement of South Saharans.

Garcilaso was an adolescent witness of the first Spanish rebellion against the Spanish crown in Peru. The rebel leader, Hernandez, obtained the support of the majority of South Saharans. Some of them were slaves and others were soldiers. Hernandez nominated South Saharan officials, which was a radical transgression of the colonial order:

Hizo Francisco Hernandez una compañía de negros de más de ciento cincuenta de los esclavos y que prendieron y tomaron en los pueblos ...Después adelante ...tuvo Francisco Hernandez más de trescientos soldados etíopes, y para honrarlos ...dióles un capitán general que yo conocí, que se decía maese Juan: era liadísimo oficial de carpintería; fue esclavo de ...El maese de campo se llamaba

maese Antonio ...nombró capitanes, y les mandó que nombrasen alférez y sargentos y cabos de escuadra, a pífanos y a tambores, y que hiciesen banderas... y de los campos del rey se huyeron muchos al tirano, viendo a sus parientes tan honrados [Francisco Hernández made a company of more than one hundred fifty Black slaves which attacked and took the towns...Then...Francisco Hernández had more than three hundred Ethiopian soldiers and to honor them...gave them a general captain that I knew, who was called master Juan: he was a befuddled carpenter; he was slave of...The master of the camp was called master Antonio...he named captains, second lieutenants, sergeants and corporals, flutists and drummers so they could make a band...and from the king's army many passed the tyrant's army, seeing their relatives so honored] (1962b, 1015-1016).

These military nominations fulfill some expectations of South Saharans who participated in the exploration and conquest of the New World. Due to this, South Saharans from the King's army decided to join the Hernandez group. Garcilaso's narrative of this event mentioned the names of these South Saharans, breaking the practice that made them invisible in colonial writing.

The rebellion failed and many of these South Saharans became maroons. Maroons were escaped South Saharans who established independent communities in remote regions. Later, since they remained undefeated, the Spanish crown gave them autonomy over a small territory. However, the leader of the maroons was captured and condemned to imprisonment for life in Spain:

Le dio comisión [a Orsua] para que diese orden y traza para remediar y prohibir los daños de los negros fugitivos ...hacían por los caminos ...Y el número de negros crecía cada día... Y por bien de paz ...les concedieron que todos los que hasta tal tiempo se habían huido de sus amos fuesen libres, pues ya les tenían perdidos. Y que los de allí adelante huyesen, fuesen obligados los cimarrones a volverlos a sus dueños, o que pagasen lo que pidiesen por ellos... Y que los negros poblasen donde viviesen recogidos como ciudadanos y naturales de la tierra ...Con los rehenes salió el rey de ellos, que se decía Ballano, para entregarlas por su propia persona; más él quedó por rehenes perpetuos, porque no quisieron soltarle. Trujéronlo a España, donde falleció el pobre negro [The commission granted permission to Orsua to remedy and prohibit the harm that the runaway Blacks....committed on the paths...And the number of Blacks grew each day...And for the peace...all those who until that time had fled from their owners were set free, since they had already been lost. And those who in the future would flee were obligated to return to their owners or pay the price that was asked for them....And so the Blacks were to settle where they lived and be taken in as natural born citizens...Their King went out with the hostages, who was called, Ballano, to give it to them himself; but he was kept a permanent hostage because they refused to let him go. They brought him back to Spain where he died, the poor Black man] (1962b, 1092-1093).

This rebellion illustrated the presence and importance of South Saharans in the birth of Latin America and their willingness to take risks in order to obtain recognition in the New World.

Their struggle against invisibility and de-humanization has been continuous in the social and political history of Latin America due to the structural persistence of racism.

The Aristocratic Historian

José de la Riva Agüero (1885-1944) defended his dissertation on *La Historia en el Perú* [*The History in Peru*] at the University of San Marcos in 1910. This was his most critical work about the evolution of historical thought in Peru. In this dissertation, Riva Agüero introduced his idea about Peruanity as the integration of white, *mestizo*, and Indigenous peoples:

La nacionalidad peruana no estará definitivamente constituida mientras en la conciencia pública y en las costumbres no se imponga la imprescindible solidaridad y confraternidad entre los blancos, mestizos e indios. No hay raza de las que habitan el territorio ni hay época de los sucesos realizados en él que puedan considerarse ajenos a nuestra idea de patria, y cuyo olvido o desprecio no enflaquezca o menoscabe el sentimiento nacional [Peruvian nationality will not be definitively established as long as public awareness and customs fail to impose the necessary solidarity and brotherhood among whites, mestizos and Indians. There is no race living within our territory nor any period in time that can consider these far from our idea of nationhood, and whose forgetting or contempt doesn't weaken or hurt our national feeling] (1965, 506-507).

Riva Agüero recovered Inca Garcilaso's ideal of reconciliation between the Spanish and Inca worlds, although Riva Agüero considered that reconciliation should be under Spanish hegemony. The *mestizo* discourse of Riva Agüero maintained a central colonial belief: the

cultural, linguistic, and religious superiority of Europe. His proposal of bi-cultural *mestizaje* excluded the South Saharan, Arab, and Jewish peoples who arrived to Peru in the same ships that brought Spaniards as well as the Asians who arrived later.

Riva Agüero held the racist ideology that the Spanish blood determined moral and spiritual excellence. He thought that the biological fusion between Spanish males and Indigenous females enriched the Indigenous population, not vice versa.

La sangre, las leyes y las instituciones de España trajeron la civilización europea a este suelo y crearon y modelaron lo esencial del Perú moderno...el imperio bárbaro que los conquistadores castellanos encontraron... y cuyos hijos en mucha parte se han mezclado con los de los vencedores españoles y contribuido al trabajo y a la defensa comunes [The blood, the laws, and the institutions of Spain brought European civilization to this soil and molded the essence of modern Peru...The barbarous empire which the Spanish conquerors found...and whose children have in many places mixed with the Spanish victors and contributed to common work and defense] (1965, 505).

He thought that to make a good *mestizaje*, Indigenous people should learn the culture, language, and religion of Spain.

Sin la colonización española los nativos habrían continuado siendo idólatras con sacrificios humanos, ignorando la escritura y mil otras invenciones primordiales, y hablando sólo quechua o más obscuras lenguas [Without the Spanish colonization the natives would have continued being idolizers with human

sacrifices, ignorant of writing and a thousand other primordial inventions, and speaking only Quechua or other obscure tongues] (1960, 20).

He considered this cultural *mestizaje* ideal for the Peruvian multitudes but not for the elite to which he belonged to:

Los puros blancos, sin ninguna excepción, tenemos en el Perú una mentalidad de mestizaje ...nunca sintió el castellano por la sangre india el invencible desvío que a la sazón experimentaba por la judía y la mora [Those of us who are pure White, without exception, we have in Peru a mestizaje mentality...never felt Spanish in Indian blood flow through the invincible detour of the spice added by the Jew and the Moor] (1960, 30).

His *criollo* vocation was at the same time anti-Semitic. He promoted disdain for Jewish and Arab peoples. Later, Riva Agüero became more conservative and, finally, he assumed fascist ideology, taking the Roman Empire as his model for the cultural and political development of the Latino world. He said that Italian fascism opened a door for the rebirth of Latin civilization in Europe and the Americas.

The Democratic Historian

Jorge Basadre (1903-1980) proposed the de-colonization of Peruvian history in his book *Peru: Problema y Posibilidad* (1931). He confronted the increasingly right wing intellectual influence of Riva Agüero and argued that political independence from Spain had not created a society with social practices based on the principle of equality. He postulated that the colonial ethnic hierarchies had interfered, despite Peruvian Republican laws that presumed equality.

Centuries of Spanish military, economic, political, and legal oppression against non-European identities facilitated *criollo* hegemony. Basadre suggested fighting against internal colonialism in Peru and suggested that historical memory was a site to confront the colonial legacy. He proposed a new history in which African descendants and other groups were included:

Otorgar atención a la introducción de los negros y al vasto experimento de mestizaje negroide que surgió desde los primeros momentos de la Conquista, sin estar obligada a darle tampoco una importancia exclusiva. Solo en tanto y en cuanto incluya a los distintos sectores de población, a sus diversos estratos y a sus mutuas relaciones e influencias, podrá hablarse de una verdadera historia general o social de los peruanos durante esa época [To pay attention to the introduction of Blacks and to the vast black *mestizaje* experiment which came about from the first moments of the conquest, without being obligated to give it exclusive importance. Only to the extent that we include the various sectors of the population with its diverse statuses and mutual relationships and influences, can we speak of a true general or social history of Peruvians at that time] (1931, 307).

His narrative focused on the construction of Peruvian society by its different ethnic groups; it would democratize the official discourse about national history. He called this narrative “a truthful history” (1931).

Basadre was influenced by social activists who demanded the recognition and inclusion of popular rural and urban sectors inside Peruvian citizenship. Inspired by democratic principles of social justice, he confronted the *criollo* and Eurocentric narrative of Riva Agüero.

The book *Peru: Problema y Posibilidad*, was republished in 1978. At 75 years old, Basadre had gained recognition as a national thinker. His new version included corrections and additions. However, Basadre did not change his stereotyped and negative descriptions and comments about Afro-Peruvians:

Se ha dicho que tienen los negros la ligereza, la imprevisión, la volubilidad, la tendencia a la mentira, la inteligencia viva y limitada, la pereza para el trabajo, que el niño tiene. Su influencia (en la historia peruana) correspondió a esos caracteres ... En resumen, fue el suyo un aporte de sensualidad y superstición [It has been said that Blacks have a childlike agility, lack of foresight, volubility, a tendency to lie, a lively but limited intelligence, and laziness for work. Their influence (on Peruvian history) corresponds to those characteristics ... In sum; their contribution is sensuality and superstition] (1978, 128).

It is shocking to observe that when Basadre recorded his thoughts about Afro-Peruvians in 1931 and 1978, he neglected his democratic principles and proposals about de-colonization, reproducing pejorative opinions about Afro-Peruvians. Despite his progressive principles, Basadre could never overcome his prejudices against African descendants. Basadre always saw ‘Blacks’ as inferior beings, without morality nor abstract intelligence, whose influence on Peruvian history has been meaningless or pernicious. He even devalued the participation of Afro-Peruvians in civic life by saying that they did not have political judgment:

La emancipación de los negros los llevó a la política. Se convirtieron en agentes de las algaradas electorales; fueron los adalides del capitulerismo criollo hecho de gritos y de embriaguez [The emancipation of Blacks brought them to politics.

They became agents of electoral rackets; they were champions of flash-in-the-pan *criollo* leaders built by shouts and drunkenness] (1978, 120-121).

He described the Afro-Peruvians' political activism as irrational mobilizations without connection to democratic and social justice ideals. Basadre is a sad example of how difficult is to extirpate colonial prejudices even in sectors of the Peruvian academy that attempt to be democratic.

The Negritude Counter-Narrative

A counter narrative from the perspective of Negritude has challenged the dominant narrative concerning the role of Afro-Peruvians in official Peruvian history. Voices of this counter-narrative come from Afro-Peruvians as well as national and international historians dedicated to that "truthful social history of Peruvians" that Basadre touted.

One of the first Afro-Peruvian intellectuals to reach the national audience was Nicomedes Santa Cruz Gamarra (1925-1992). In his historical essay *El Negro en Iberoamerica* (1988), he affirmed that thousands of South Saharan people already lived in Spain before the official "discovery of the New World" in 1492. Most of them had arrived through the slave trade between Spain and Guinea that began in 1442. This trade intensified five decades later with the beginning of the European exploration, contact, and conquest of the New World.

According to Santa Cruz, the first groups of South Saharans arrived in the Americas as assistants to the Spaniards and were likely to have been fluent in Spanish language and culture:

La relación de los negros *auxiliares* con los conquistadores hay que mirarla a través de los negros ladinos que en la España del siglo XV pasaban de 50,000 en

un cálculo bastante conservador [The relationship of the negro assistants with the conquistadores must be seen through the *Ladino* blacks who numbered more than 50,000 in Spain in the 15th century, according to conservative estimates] (1988, 398).

The word *Ladino* is derived from *Latino* and which was applied originally in Spain to those who learned to speak Latin. *Ladino* slaves were imported from the markets of Seville and Lisbon (Santa Cruz, 1988). Maybe these Ladino South Saharans were bilingual and bicultural with an Afro-Hispanic identity.

Sevilla controlled the traffic between Spain, the Americas, and Africa across the 16th century and that city was home to thousands of South Saharans when the Spanish discovery and conquest expeditions were organized.

From the Atlantic to the South Pacific

The Spanish crown extended the slave trade to the New World in 1518 when 7,000 South Saharans were kidnapped from Africa and shipped to the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Jamaica (Delgado Aparicio, 2000). According to Browser (1977), the Spanish crown gave license to Pizarro and his partners to import 259 enslaved persons between 1527 and 1537. Also, South Saharan builders got contracts to build bridges, roads, and houses in the New World. In addition, Pedro de Alvarado brought 200 South Saharan soldiers from Guatemala to Peru in 1534. In 1535, 600 Spaniards brought 400 South Saharans from Central America to Peru. Based on facts such as these, Santa Cruz differentiated between the African presence in Peru since the first encounters between Indigenous and Spanish people, and the African influence that took place

later when oppressor and oppressed began to mix bloods and cultures. He stated that the dialectic synthesis of that *mestizaje* is Peruanity (1975).

Luis Millones (1973) noted that some Spaniards recognized the freedom of South Saharans during the conquest of Peru. This specially happened in the domestic sphere in various limited ways. One of them was the will where a master returned freedom to enslaved persons:

En el testamento de Pizarro hay una cláusula que luego encontramos repetida a lo largo de la historia peruana: Alonso Prieto (o Alonso Negro, en otro párrafo) es puesto en libertad “por cuanto me ha servido bien y fielmente”. Años atrás, su compañero de aventuras Almagro había hecho lo mismo con la negra Margarita. La negra –probablemente concubina del anciano militar- aparece más tarde con dinero suficiente para contribuir a la derrota de Hernández Girón. La actitud de los conquistadores no era excepcional, antes y después, otros miembros de la hueste española dejaron libres a sus esclavos. Lo que en realidad no era sino un tardío reconocimiento a la participación del grupo negro en la conquista del Tahuantinsuyo [In Pizarro’s will there is a clause which we find repeated throughout Peruvian history: Alonso Prieto (or Alonso Negro, in another paragraph) is set free “because he has served me well and faithfully.” Years ago, his companion Almagro had done the same with the Black, Margarita. She—probably the concubine of the old military man—appears later with enough money to contribute to the fall of Hernández Girón. The attitude of these conquistadores was not unusual, before and after, other members of the Spanish army liberated their slaves. In reality, this was just a belated recognition for the

participation of the Negro group in the conquest of Tahuantinsuyo] (Millones, 1973, 23).

Manumission was an established practice in Seville, Spain, where after years of personal service, South Saharan individuals could recover their freedom, usually when the master was close to death.

Other passing references to the role of South Saharans come from Santa Cruz, quoted in Browser (1977), that South Saharans served on both sides in the wars between Spaniards in Peru in the 16th century. The army of Almagro el Mozo had 1,000 African warriors and the army of Gonzalo Pizarro had 600. According to Townsend Escurra (1963), between 1568 and 1606 the Peruvian crews set up to explore Australia were composed of representatives reflecting Peru's emerging diversity: Indigenous, African, Spanish and *criollo* peoples.

Afro-Peruvian Colony

The new social diversity was concentrated and structured according to colonial paradigms in Lima, the center of the Spanish administration in Peru. In the second half of the 16th century, different African brotherhoods (*cofradías*) were established in Lima: Congos Mondongos de Piti, Congos Mondongos de San Marcelo, Minas, etc. (Santa Cruz, 1988). The mission of these institutions was to re-unite people originating from the same African culture and/or to aid members in extreme risk. These *cofradías* existed for hundreds of years and some are still active today and their activities are connected with the worship of the Black Christ.

The Valladolid debate (1550-1551) considered the legal and material situation of South Saharans in the Spanish colonies. This theological and philosophical debate was organized by the

monarchy and the Catholic Church in Valladolid. Its purpose was to examine and settle the spiritual condition and rights of Indigenous peoples, so that in order to establish an appropriate legal system for Indigenous people. At its conclusion, the enslavement of Indigenous people was condemned on the basis of recognition of their human condition, although the enslavement of South Saharan was not even considered in the debates (Rivera Pagan, 2007). For Spanish authorities, the enslavement of South Saharans did not pose theological or philosophical questions. That silence of moral and political authorities on the South Saharan condition permitted the intensification of the slave trade according to the material production needs in the Americas. Even worse, this silence allowed the intensifying of slaves' mistreatment:

Tener relaciones con las indias, no podían portar armas, usar joyas, beber alcoholes, salir de noche, faltar al trabajo, etc. ...bárbaramente castigados al menor desliz, trabajando más de doce horas al día, mal alimentados y en pésimas condiciones de salubridad e higiene, los negros esclavos no tenían otra perspectiva para un cambio de su condición que una revolución social [They couldn't] have relationships with Indian women, carry arms, wear jewelry, drink alcohol, go out at night, miss work, etc...cruelly punished for the slightest slip, working more than twelve hours daily, poorly nourished and with the most unhealthy and unhygienic conditions, the Black slaves did not have any option for changing their situation other than a social revolution] (Cuché, 1975, 25).

The cruelty of the colonial system against South Saharan slaves was countered by maroon and slave rebellions. These were expressions of dignity, resistance, and self-liberation. In the words of Santa Cruz:

El cimarronaje, como contrapartida de la esclavitud y su política deshumanizante, desarrolló una política contestataria, potenciando las cosas más simples y dando a todo un sentido revolucionario [The cimarronage implemented a resistance policy against slavery and its dehumanizing policy. It made simple things powerful and gave a revolutionary meaning to everything] (1988, 437).

According to Millones, there were multiple alliances between South Saharan and Indigenous people. The common experience of colonial oppression pushed them to resist and fight together for their mutual liberation:

Negros e indios se unieron muchas veces contra el poder español: en 1602 Francisco Chichima, indio de Vilcabamba (Cuzco) se enfrenta a las tropas cañarí que el capitán Diego de Aguilar había enviado contra él. Su banda estaba compuesta por negros e indios y son sus primeras victorias las que alientan la revuelta de 20 negros en Quillabamba. Poco después, toda el área ardía en una rebelión que pudo ser aislada pero no sofocada por completo ...El hecho que negros e indios compartiesen esfuerzos en su lucha contra los españoles indica que al igual compartían los sufrimientos [Blacks and Indians often joined forces against Spanish power: in 1602 Francisco Chichima, Indian from Vilcabamba (Cuzco) confronts the Canary Island troops that Captain Diego de Aguilar had sent to fight against him. His band was made up of Blacks and Indians and it was his first victories that fomented the rebellion of 20 Negros in Quillabamba. Shortly after, the entire area burned with a rebellion that could be isolated but not completely snuffed off....The fact that Negros and Indians collaborated in their

struggle against the Spanish indicates that they also shared their suffering] (1973, 32-33).

In some way, these inter-ethnic and transcontinental experiences stimulated a more multicultural and global modern awareness of freedom, equality, and fraternity.

Freed South Saharans also lived in Spanish colonies in the Americas. They had to pay taxes to the Spanish king. If they could not pay, they had to work in gold or silver mines. They were banned from having Indigenous servants or helping maroons. If the South Saharans helped maroons, they received the same punishment as a maroon (which could include capital punishment). Castration was another usual punishment, even though it was legally forbidden (Pinelo & Solórzano, 1680). Carlos Aguirre (2000) wrote that freed Black people usually obtained their freedom by manumission, maroonage, rebellions, and domestic arrangements worked out with their owners that afforded them some kind of comfortable life.

According to Fernando Romero (1987), the population of Lima at the beginning of 17th century included 6,000 whites, 5,000 Indigenous, and 30,000 Africans. By the end of the 18th century, 60% of Lima's population was African descendant.

The Afro-Peruvian counter-narrative and ethnic –history have rescued from obscurity the historical importance of the maroons' towns in the Lima province such as Guachipa (established in 1713), Carabayllo (1761), Vicentelo (1766) as well as the slaves' rebellions in Quillabamba in 1602.

One of the largest joint rebellions of Indigenous and Afro-descendant people was led by Juan Santos Atahualpa (1742-1756). The Mario Arenas' book (1973) on this rebellion highlights

that this descendant of Incan royalty was brought to Africa by Jesuit priests during his youth. In Africa, he saw Black priests with white beards officiating during masses. Santos Atahualpa tried to restore the Incan empire with a Catholic-Indigenous religion, and without Indigenous servitude or African slavery. There were African descendants in his rebellion in addition to the lieutenant Antonio Gatica. Moreover, enslaved South Saharans who worked in Spaniards' homes spied for the rebels. This rebellion was never defeated although it was isolated from the rest of the colony and confined to the Amazon region.

Millones (1973) notes that despite the racial organization of colonial society, exceptions were made for the few Afro-descendants who owned building enterprises. In those cases, these Afro-descendants had demonstrated for many years mastery in European cultures, languages, and technologies.

For example, Harth-Terré (1971), in his studies of the crafts and inventors of the Viceroyalty, has found documentation of Santiago Rosales, a “Mulato cuarterón libre” [free mulato quarteroon], officially authorized in 1723 to be master in the building and architectural arts with the ability to have apprentices. He was also described as a watchmaker and arms manufacturer, with knowledge of the French, Italian, and Latin languages.

Most free Afro-descendants were not so illustrious. They were marginalized, forcing them to become proletarian:

En la costa, el proceso de proletarización del grupo de color fue más rápido.

Prácticamente no hay profesión donde los españoles no protesten por la intromisión de negros capaces de desempeñarla. Veterinarios y farmacéuticos,

carpinteros, herreros, comerciantes, tenderos trataron de impedir que los negros ejerciesen sus respectivas habilidades [In the coast, the process of proletarianization of the group of color was faster. There was almost no profession where the Spaniards did not protest about the introduction of Blacks capable of engaging in them. Veterinarians and pharmacists, carpenters, blacksmiths, businessmen, and shopkeepers tried to prevent Blacks from exercising their skills] (Millones, 1973, 34).

Around the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, Afro-descendants participated in secret mobilizations and armed confrontations that were decisive to the independence of Peru. Both the Tupac Amaru rebellion (1780-1781) and the independence war (1819-1824) had Afro-descendant leaders and members. The Tupac Amaru rebellion proclaimed the abolition of Indigenous servitude as well as the elimination of African enslavement, and the establishment of a more egalitarian society. Some outstanding Afro-Peruvians in this rebellion were: Antonio Oblitas, lieutenant of Tupac Amaru; José Manuel Yepes, Pedro Pablo, Miguel Landa y Jerónimo Andía. Micaela Bastidas, Tupac Amaru's wife, was also a descendant of African and Indigenous people.

Promises of Citizenship

The military and political movement that fought for the independence of the country at the beginning of the 19th century revitalized the Tupac Amaru's ideas and added the ideas of French revolution. This movement promised to build a nation based on freedom, equality, and fraternity (Blanchard, 1992; Aguirre, 1993) and was supported by most of Afro-descendant people. In 1820, the Freedmen Afro-descendants Patriotic Society was founded in Ica. They

fought in different battles. In 1821, Indigenous and Afro-descendants formed guerilla groups in Huancayo. The same year, numerous Afro-descendants entered Juan Pardo de Zela's company for independence in Ica. In 1822, Afro-descendant residents of Chincha and Cañete signed up for the rebellion for independence. The guerrilla troop for independence organized by Marcelino Carreño in the Andes had 720 Afro-descendants. This guerrilla group had a decisive role in the Ayacucho combat that ended the independence war in 1824.

Once Independence was won, the general San Martin declared a 'free uterus law' which recognized the freedom of children of enslaved women born after the proclamation of independence in 1821. However, the same law ordered that these children remain under the control of masters until they were 21 years old. This law did not fulfill the expectations of Afro-descendants who had fought against the Spanish crown (Aguirre, 2000). Nevertheless, many Afro-descendants won the recognition of their freedom through other laws between 1821 and 1825. Some of them had to go to court to defend their freedom against their former masters such as Antonio Salazar, sergeant of the independent army between 1820 and 1824, and the soldier Francisco Panizo. Most people who continued enslaved kept their everyday condition in coastal plantations and cities. The treatment on plantations was cruel, while the cruelty was mixed with paternalism in the cities, leading to more instances of manumission in the cities, and therefore a greater percentage of freedwomen and men in cities (Cuché, 1975).

According to Flores Galindo (1979), Afro-descendants constituted between 18% and 22% of Lima's city population in the first half of the 19th century. At the time of the abolition of slavery in 1854, there were 22,000 enslaved people in Peru. Landowners opposed abolition because slavery was the main source of their wealth, political power, and social prestige. They

argued that abolition violated their property rights and they did what they could to sabotage it. Due to their political pressure, the Peruvian state paid reparation to slave owners, but never compensated the enslaved people (Cuché, 1975). At the moment of the abolition, a small number of Afro-descendants were also owners of slaves (Aguirre, 1993).

After the abolition of slavery in 1854, there were no new educational or work opportunities for freed women and men. Many of them had to work for their former masters who also contracted Chinese workers (coolies) under slave-like conditions (which often included the use of chains). This situation limited the social possibilities of Afro-Peruvians to the status of peasants, home servants, bullfighters, water sellers, dance teachers, cooks, and babysitters.

The *criollo* writer Ricardo Palma (1833-1919) who had Spanish and African ancestors stated at the end of the 19th century: “Who has not Inca ancestors, has Mandinga ones.” This sentence emerged from an altercation where someone tried to insult him by mentioning his African roots. This aphorism quickly grew in popularity and stimulated discussion at popular and elite levels about the multiracial character of the Peruvian population.

Urbanization, *Criollismo*, and Sports

At the beginning of the 20th century, numerous Afro-Peruvians moved from rural to urban areas looking for jobs in new factories. One of the oldest Afro-Peruvian neighborhoods in Lima is Malambo, which is in the Rimac district, close to downtown Lima (where the central offices of the Peruvian state are located). At the beginning of this century, Malambo was home to one textile factory and five bakeries which distributed their products in Lima. Malambo workers organized unions and strikes to fight for their rights. They had a library led by anarchists and a

printing house (named ‘Proletarian’) which printed workers’ newspapers. In December of 1918, they made the first strike for the 8-hour day right in Peru (Panfichi, 2000). Across this century, Afro-Peruvians participated intensely in the fights of peasants and workers for social justice (Aguirre, 2005; Cuché, 1975; Kapsoli, 1990).

Also, Afro-Peruvians participated importantly in the creation of national culture throughout the 20th century. Afro-Peruvian artists had key roles in the creation of *criollism* (Llorens, 1983; Rostworowski, 2000; Verástegui, 1975). *Criollism* was a poetic, musical, and dancing movement that changed the urban and rural sensibility of the nation and then became a symbol of national identity:

...una historia del cuerpo, una historia del baile, una historia de los pies que tejen metáforas en el piso ...porque expresan la forma efectiva de una conciencia, el encuentro aunque subconsciente de una identidad que se expresa en esa manifestación cultural [...a history of the body, a history of dance, a history of feet that weave metaphors into the floor...because they express the form of a consciousness or an identity that expresses itself through this cultural manifestation, even unconsciously] (Verástegui, 1975, 10).

Criollism was a popular way to conceive Peruvian *mestizaje* which included a more democratic life style and solidarity across different social classes:

Supone compartir un estilo de vida, códigos de conducta y un conjunto de solidaridades entre iguales, basados en significados y sentidos provenientes tanto de la cultura afroperuana, de la picaresca española, como de culturas

mediterráneas que arribaron a la ciudad con la modernización temprana de Lima [It is about sharing a lifestyle, a code of conduct and a collection of solidarities among equals, based on meanings that come from Afro-Peruvian culture, picaresque Spanish culture, and Mediterranean cultures that arrived in the city with the early modernization of Lima] (Panfichi, 2000, 153).

In addition, young Afro-Peruvians became popular heroes in the new sphere of sports. In the 1920s, the Alianza Lima Soccer Club moved to La Victoria district which had a high percentage of Afro-Peruvian descendants due to its textile, food, and construction industries. Young residents became soccer players in Alianza Lima and then made up the national soccer team (Panfichi, 2000). During the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, the Peruvian national soccer team played against the Austrian team. The captain of the Peruvian team was the Afro-descendant Alejandro Villanueva from the Alianza Lima Club. The majority of players were Afro-descendant, Indigenous, and mestizo persons. Although the referee favored the Austrian team, the match finished tied. In the extra-time, the referee ordered two penalty kicks against Peru but the Peruvian goalkeeper stopped the ball. Also, the referee invalidated three Peruvian goals. However, two more Peruvian goals finalized score 4-2 in favor of Peru.

The Peruvian victory in this game upset German authorities because it contradicted Hitler's racist principles of Aryan superiority. The Nazi regime pressed the Olympic committee to nullify this score and order a new game in an empty stadium guarded by the German police. Peruvian players had voted to play again (Thorndike, 2000), but the Peruvian delegation refused this decision, abandoned the Olympics, and returned to Peru. When the Peruvian Olympic

delegation arrived in Peru, dozens of thousands people welcome backed these players who became popular heroes.

Another national icon of Peruvian sports was the Afro-Peruvian boxer Mauro Mina. He became the South American Light Heavyweight Champion in 1960 and he was ready for a shot at the World Light Heavyweight title in 1962, but the discovery of a retinal injury acquired in one of his previous fights prevented such a challenge from ever taking place. He was so popular that his boxing matches filled the Lima national stadium.

Revolutionary Politicians

In recent decades, Afro-Peruvian leaders such as Guillermo Lobatón Milla (1927-1966) and Maria Elena Moyano Delgado (1958-1992) have been activists in progressive or leftist political movements. Lobatón came from a Lima working family with possible Haitian ancestors. He studied philosophy at San Marcos University in Peru and Sorbonne University in France as well as economy at Leipzig University in Germany. He enrolled in the *Revolutionary Movement of the Left (MIR)*, a guerrilla group inspired by the ideals and methods of Ché Guevara. In 1961, Lobatón was trained as a guerilla combatant in Cuba. Then, he traveled to Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. In 1964, he began his guerrilla activities in Peru. He was military chief of the *MIR* in Junin (Brown & Fernandez, 1991). Lobatón made an alliance between the *MIR* and Ashaninkas (Amazonian Indigenous people) to expel landowners from Indigenous territories. Ashaninka's shamans identified Lobatón as a benign spirit whose mission was to lead the fight for Ashaninka justice. The *MIR* was destroyed in 1966 by the Peruvian military army. This army was guided by U.S. military advisors using Camberra warplanes to throw napalm and bombs over Ashaninka towns. Although there are different versions of Lobaton's death, most accept the version that he

was captured alive and then thrown from a helicopter over the Peruvian jungle (Brown & Fernandez, 1991).

María Elena Moyano studied sociology at Inca Garcilaso de la Vega University in Lima. She was founder and community organizer in the Villa El Salvador district of Lima. The district had no water or power services when it was founded in the 1970s. Twenty years later, the district had 300,000 inhabitants, an industrial park, an active commercial market as well as schools and institutes. Villa El Salvador's rapid growth was based on cooperative and participative democratic models that Moyano and other leaders promoted. The Women's Popular Federation of Villa El Salvador was a decisive organization in this process. Moyano was the president of this federation between 1986 and 1989. The federation concerned itself with issues of nutrition, health, human rights, education, and democracy. Moyano was elected councilwoman in Villa El Salvador in 1989. Moyano said in a public speech:

Nosotros estamos sufriendo condiciones económicas que son el producto de una política neoliberal que oprime y aplasta a la gente más pobre. Demás, las fuerzas militares están violando derechos humanos. Nosotros no podemos olvidar a los miles de muertos. Además está el grupo terrorista que aniquila a los líderes de nuestro pueblo y amenaza con imponer el terror sobre todo el país [We are suffering from economic conditions which are the product of neoliberal policy which oppresses and crushes the poorest people. Additionally, the military is violating human rights. We cannot forget the dead thousands. We are also facing a terrorist group which destroys the leaders of our people and threatens to impose terror on the entire country] (Moyano, 2000, 70).

At the beginning of 90s, the Maoist organization, Shining Path, assassinated popular political women such as Juana Lopez (August 31, 1991), Moraliza Espeja Marquez (December 6, 1991), and Emma Hilario (December 20, 1991). Moyano received death threats and a campaign of defamation from the Shining Path. Moyano organized demonstrations to express Villa El Salvador citizens' rejection of terrorism.

A few days before her assassination, Moyano published an open letter addressed to her potential assassins:

La revolución es una afirmación de la vida y de la dignidad individual y colectiva. Esa es nuestra ética. La revolución no es muerte ni imposición ni sumisión ni fanatismo. Revolución es vida nueva -una creencia en y la lucha por una sociedad justa y digna- que apoye las organizaciones que el pueblo ha creado, respetando sus democracias internas, sembrando nuevas semillas de poder en el Perú [The revolution is an affirmation of life and of individual and collective. That is our ethic. The revolution is not death nor imposition nor submission nor fanaticism. Revolution is new life—a belief in the struggle for a just and fair society—that supports the organizations that the people have created, respecting their internal democracies, sowing new seeds of power in Peru] (Moyano, 2000, 66).

The Peruvian state 'failed' to protect Moyano. She was assassinated on February 14th, 1992. A Shining Path command open fire against her, then it pulled her corpse into a public square where it used 5 kilograms of dynamite to destroy it. Finally, the command distributed pamphlets justifying its actions. I personally saw some of those pamphlets a few days after her

assassination. In some way, she was a victim of the violence of a neoliberal state and a totalitarian communist rebellion.

FORSUR and the State Forgiveness

The persistence of structural racism that enables the violence, marginalization, and overlooking of Afro-Peruvians was made dramatically evident by the performance of the first Board for the Reconstruction of the South (FORSUR). This board was created by the Peruvian state to answer the social emergency caused by the 7.9 (Richter scale) earthquake that hit the Ica region on August 15, 2007. According to the Instituto Nacional de Defensa Civil [National Institute of Civil Defense] report (2007), 510 persons died, 1,500 were wounded, 56,296 houses were destroyed, and 22,946 houses were damaged. Water and power supplies collapsed along with roads and water reservoirs. Many jobs were lost. Most destroyed towns had a significant Afro-Peruvian presence: Pisco, Tambo de Mora, Tupac Amaru, San José de los Molinos, Acomayo y Manzanilla. Eight percent of houses were destroyed in these towns.

The government gave the administration of FORSUR to a group of successful Peruvian businessmen led by a former president of the National Confederation of Private Business. The Peruvian president justified this decision saying that the efficiency of the private sector was going to be key for the fast rebuilding of the damaged area. In this way, the state put into the hands of a group of *criollo* oligarchs the recovery of devastated Afro-Peruvian towns.

This Board refused to put its offices in Ica. They preferred to manage the reconstruction from Lima, hundreds of miles away from the social emergency. The organization received hundreds of millions dollars for the reconstruction, but its inaction and corruption became so

scandalous that all board members had to resign eight months later. Up until this day, no one from the first FORSUR board has faced charges for criminal negligence or corruption.

Beyond the personalities of the Board members, their deficient performance may reflect the social beliefs that rule the treatment by *criollo* oligarchs toward poor, rural, and Afro-descendant people. In other words, social class, cultural, and racial factors strongly condition the exclusion and exploitation that intersected in this situation. The Board performance followed the script that has long shaped historical relations between *criollo* oligarchy and Afro-descendants. Colonial beliefs and practices in Peruvian society have trained the *criollo* oligarchy to be served by poor, rural, Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian people, not the other way around. Even when they had millions of dollars of international support, they could not change these historical patterns. In some way, their oligarchical social values and colonial attitude impeded these experienced and successful businessmen from performing their assigned tasks. It could be said that to work in favor of poor and rural Afro-Peruvians caused them a kind of ideological conflict and identity crisis, which they were incapable of overcoming.

Two years later, on November 27, 2009, the government attempted to clean up its national and international public image. It published the *Resolución Suprema de Perdón al Pueblo Afro-Peruano* [Ultimate Resolution for Forgiving the Afro-Peruvian People]. This document says:

Exprésese Perdón Histórico al Pueblo Afro-Peruano por los abusos, exclusión y discriminación cometidos en su agravio desde la época colonial hasta la actualidad, y reconózcase su esfuerzo y lucha en la afirmación de nuestra identidad nacional, la generación y difusión de valores culturales, así como la

defensa del suelo patrio [Historical forgiveness is expressed toward the Afro-Peruvian people for the abuse, exclusion and discrimination committed against them from colonial times until the present day, recognizing their efforts and struggle in the affirmation of our national identity, and the creation and diffusion of cultural values, such as the defense of their fatherland] (Gobierno de la República del Perú, 2009).

It is worth noting the peculiar phrasing of both the title and the first line of this resolution, which seems to offering forgiveness of Afro-Peruvians for their mistreatment, rather than asking them for forgiveness. Some Afro-Peruvian activists such as Carlos Lopez, director of Cimarrones, observed that the Resolution used incorrect language when says “forgiveness to Afro-Peruvian people” instead of “apology to Afro-Peruvian people” (Lopez, 2009). This could be a simple drafting mistake, but is also the expression of dominant colonial beliefs that reject (even in the paper) that the state should ask for forgiveness of Peruvians with South-Saharan roots. Some of these beliefs were reflected in readers’ comments to this news in online national newspapers. Some readers argued that Afro-descendants were not so mistreated in Peru. Others argued that the state should first ask Indigenous people for forgiveness. Other comments denounced this ceremony as a gesture to distract public opinion from real social issues.

This Resolution also determined that the ceremony of forgiveness and recognition should be solemn and public, and that the Secretary for Women and Social Development should create specific policies for the promotion of Afro-Peruvian people. The ceremony took place on December 7 of the same year. The Peruvian president, Alan García, called the apology an unprecedented act. He officially asked forgiveness for the atrocities of the slave trade and the

Peruvian oligarchy. He ended his speech asking Peruvian people “to pass this horrible page and move on to the future of Peru.”

The president’s speech should have asked forgiveness for a history of injustice and neglect, and provided recognition to Afro-Peruvian people. However, it did not mention any of their political, economic, ethical, cultural, or spiritual contributions to Peruvian society. Also, the speech did not name any outstanding Afro-descendants individuals. The president only mentioned their collective creativity for cuisine and music. The ceremony did not announce any economic, political, or educational measures in order to decrease historical and structural inequalities against Afro-Peruvians. Nor did the ceremony not include any Afro-Peruvian speakers. Representatives of various Afro-Peruvian organizations were included only in the photographs. Ironically, the solemn ceremony to ask for forgiveness and recognize Afro-Peruvians served to maintain their cultural and historical invisibility and marginalization.

Despite its limitations, Afro-Peruvian nonprofits such as Lundu and CEDET welcomed the resolution as an act of justice and offered to work with the Ministry of Women and Social Development on the design and implementation of policies for the promotion of Afro-Peruvians. However, in the two remaining years in which it was in power, García’s Administration did not give the Afro-Peruvian organizations opportunities to collaborate. Furthermore, this Administration did not take steps to address this issue until the state power was transfer to a new administration on July 2011. (Fortunately, the new government, led by President Humala, has already started the reconstruction of towns affected by the 2007 earthquake and has appointed the first female Afro-Peruvian minister, Susana Baca. She is in charge of the Ministry of Culture).

It seems that the former administration wanted to make only a symbolic step as a strategy to pass the United Nations inquiry into racism and discrimination. Peru and most other nations officially agreed at the Durban World Conference against Racism (2001) to implement international measures to overcome racism and discrimination. Compliance with these measures was going to be evaluated in 2009 and the situation of the Peruvian state, at that time, was unfavorable. The Peruvian state had not met its commitments. Even worse, the government was involved in the massacre of Indigenous people who that year rejected the *Free Trade Agreement* with the U.S. For Indigenous people, this agreement violated their land rights and autonomy in Amazonia.

Contradictions and gaps in the Resolution and the forgiveness ceremony showed the need for further exploration and public discussion about colonialism and racism in order to decolonize Peruvian society. These steps are crucial to building a more democratic and inclusive citizenship.

Decolonization and Democratization

Multiple signs exist which demonstrate current colonial and racist beliefs in private and public institutions. The dehumanization of Afro-Peruvian images was made through a discursive method that reduced their identities to their skin color and the elimination of their collective memories, knowledge, and values. This methodology of de-humanization is not deactivated in the narrative of the dominant groups, which was reflected in media and the Peruvian president's speech on December 7, 2009, discussed above. On one hand, the state speech asked for forgiveness. On the other hand, the speech described Afro-Peruvians as objects pushed by colonial and slavery forces, victims of the winds of history. The speech did not treat them as historical subjects who resisted and confronted injustice (many times in alliance with Indigenous,

criollos, and *mestizos*), and fought for their dignity, freedom, and for independence and social justice. With the exception of Afro-Peruvian media, neither mass media nor academic circles offered an analysis of this event.

The overcoming of colonial racism requires a bigger political and social will to confront the complexity of a problem that undermines the democratization of Peruvian society. According to Franz Fanon (1967), beyond the rhetoric, the struggle against internal colonialism demands the economic and political decolonization of society. In other words, the power structures of society should be transformed.

The Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano (2000) has argued that racism was the axe of the colonial structure in the case of Latin America. He pointed out that racism should be analyzed in connection with the history and formation of this region. For Quijano, racism is still a central factor in the organization of Latin American economic and political power. Despite their independence as Republics, the coloniality of the power remains. The coloniality is a racialized way of building and managing economic and political affairs. The idea of race is an instrument of domination in this coloniality: “The idea of race was a way to legitimize the relations of dominance imposed by the Conquest” (2000, p. 534).

According to Quijano (2000), the conquest of America introduced a model of power based on two processes: first, the racialization of the conqueror and the conquered which tried to naturalize beliefs in respective superiority and inferiority as congenital and transmissible by sexual reproduction. This, in turn, legitimized labor exploitation. The second process concerned the control of different forms of production and trade according to European capital and market

interests. South Saharans were enslaved and confined to specific tasks of production inside these processes.

The implementation of colonization also required campaigns of destruction of the symbolic worlds of subjugated peoples. Colonizers tried to expropriate their cultural discoveries, repress their ways of producing knowledge, impose their assimilation to colonizers' culture through evangelization, and spread Euro-centrism through historic narratives where Europe became the future for conquered peoples. For Quijano, the independence of Latin American countries did not mean their decolonization, because the new elite of these countries rearticulated the colonality in new institutions. The elite did not work for the construction of modern nation-states. This colonial racism is one of the main obstacles for the social democratization of Latin America.

Quijano (2000) argues that the current colonality of power in Latin America is based on categories of race and a capitalist system that controls diverse ways of production according to global markets. This colonality rests on discourses and practices that exclude Indigenous and Afro-descendant people, and oppose the progress of democracy, citizenship, and the modern nation-state.

The destruction of the symbolic world of colonized people was also mentioned by Frantz Fanon (1963) when he described the way colonial imagination represented the oppressed groups as “a society without values” (p. 41). In some way, this process of moral subjugation is called “cultural imperialism” by Young (1990). Afro-Peruvian history is marked by the resistance against colonial and Republican attempts to destroy their traditions and collective identity. However, colonial imaginary has tried to reduce Afro-Peruvian traditions to cuisine, music, and dance.

These images were in place in the Forgiveness Ceremony (December 7, 2009) where no Afro-Peruvians were scheduled to give a speech. As colonialism denied the conceptual intelligence of South Saharans, the Peruvian authorities and media did not expect to hear anything worthwhile from Afro-Peruvians.

There are multiple expressions of the colonial symbolic net that catches Peruvian dominant culture. These colonial beliefs especially damage Afro-Peruvian communities. According to colonial hierarchies, South Saharans were placed in the lowest level of society, close to animals. In some way, to confront racism against Afro-Peruvians means to remove the whole colonial pyramid. Fanon wrote that “the colonial world was dualist...following the process, the dualist reaches its logical conclusion and de-humanized the colonized. In other words, makes him an animal” (1963, 41-42). For Fanon, the development of new narratives was key to implementing a process of decolonization: “The immobility to which the colonized are condemned can only be challenged if the colonized decide to put an end to the colonial history of pillaging—and bring to the nation’s history—the history of decolonization” (1963, 51).

The recovery of that “truthful Peruvian social history” that was demanded by Basadre is still a crucial task for the future of intercultural education and democracy in Peru. This work of rescuing collective memories that includes Afro-Peruvian history has a central importance for the interculturalization of Peruvian society. Interculturalization needs to include the social and political recognition of Andean, Amazonian, Asian, Arab, Jewish as well as Afro Peruvian communities.

The construction of an anti-racist and anti-colonial narrative will democratically transform the common imagination of the nation as well as its social ethics. An intercultural

history will inspire social and political practices oriented to mutual recognition and reconciliation among all ethnic identities.

Nos queda un largo camino por recorrer y las tareas son inmensas: trabajar, desde el Estado o la sociedad civil, desde la escuela o el juzgado, desde la comunidad de base o los medios de comunicación, para desterrar los estereotipos, las formas degradantes de interacción social y los componentes estructurales de racismo. Sólo así lograremos desterrar la injusticia y discriminación y asegurar un futuro de dignidad y bienestar para todos los peruanos [We still have a long road to walk and the tasks are enormous: to work, from the State to civil society, from the school to the court, from communities or the media, to root out stereotype, degrading forms of social interaction, and the structural components of racism. Only in this way can we expel injustice and discrimination and assure a future of dignity and well-being for all Peruvians] (Aguirre, 2000, 74).

In the next chapter, I will examine contemporary intellectual contributions of Afro-Peruvians and Africans that can enrich intercultural thought in Peru and, by extension, enrich intercultural education policy.

CHAPTER 4

AFRICAN AND AFRO-PERUVIAN APPROACHES TO INTERCULTURALITY

Introduction

In this Chapter, I examine a selected set of theoretical tools drawn from the writings of Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-2001), from Senegal, Nicomedes Santa Cruz Gamarra (1925-1992), and Jose Carlos Luciano Huapaya (1956-2002), the latter two Afro Peruvians. These approaches and concepts refer to complexities of cultures as well as issues of ethnocentrism, colonialism, decolonization, democracy, and dialogue among socio-cultural groups. Their reflections about these issues at global, regional, and national levels can improve the understanding of Peruvian cultural plurality and the design of intercultural education policy.

The Need of a Pluralistic Interculturality

As I discuss in Chapter 1, discourses of the state, education scholars, and social movements have declared interculturality to be a key principle to solve socio-cultural and socio-political conflicts in Peruvian society. In fact, interculturality has been even incorporated as a principle in documents such as the Constitution (1993) and the Education Law (2003). I also examine the incongruity of the official notion of interculturality in Chapter 1 and argue that the unsatisfactory results of intercultural projects and programs are consequences of internal contradictions in the official notion of Peruvian interculturality. These inconsistencies impregnate the intercultural education policy and cause the deficiency of interculturality in political practice that has led to deteriorating social conditions in the country. The state still maintains discourses and practices aimed at establishing a Western (Hispanic) hegemony, which imply the marginalization of all other Peruvian cultures.

I do not argue for any kind of cultural neutrality as a solution toward conceptualizing an inclusive Peruvian interculturality. I think that cultural neutrality is impossible, undesirable, and useless. No one can be in a neutral position regarding to cultural diversity. All communicative acts between people happen at least within a culture. Individuals build themselves as human beings inside particular culture(s). To be culturally neutral, individuals would have to be outside of a particular culture, which is humanly impossible. No human being could put herself/himself outside of culture(s) and each culture carries a particular worldview. Culture is not a commodity that individuals can leave, lose, or obtain without affecting their human condition.

Instead of cultural neutrality, I propose that Peruvian interculturality should be democratically built on the current socio-cultural diversity of the country. In this Chapter 4, I explore potential contributions to the construction of a more pluralistic conception of Peruvian interculturality and intercultural education policy from one of its most denied cultural traditions in official discourses: the culture that has its roots in Africa. With this effort, I intend to motivate other Peruvians to think about interculturality from other marginalized socio-cultural groups with roots in Asia, Middle East, and other places of Europe as well as in the aboriginal Americas.

As noted in the preceding Chapter 3, the denial of Afro-Peruvian tradition is part of the colonial legacy in Peru. These colonial legacies remain a major obstacle to the advancement of intercultural thinking in the education sector, in particular the residue of racism carried over from Peruvian slave systems. South Saharan people were placed at the bottom of the colonial pyramid, at an unclear border between human beings and animals. They were called incapable of creating their own culture.

Proposing the incorporation of Afro-Peruvian culture in the construction of the Peruvian intercultural education policy, Afro-Peruvians are, at the same time, confronting centuries of Euro-centrism, colonial prejudices, mistreatment, and structural oppression in Peruvian society.

Negritude and Afro-Peruvians

Valuable theories for reconstituting Peruvian cultural diversity and interculturality appear in the philosophical, political, pedagogical, and sociological analyses provided by Senghor, Santa Cruz and Luciano. These thinkers offer perspectives, principles, concepts, arguments, and visions useful for significantly redefining Peruvian intercultural education policy to make it more inclusive and democratic.

Senghor was a poet, cultural philosopher, and politician. Some of his poetry books are: *Priere aux Masques* (1935), *Chants d'Ombre* (1945), *Hosties Noires* (1948), *Ethiopiennes* (1956), *Nocturnes* (1961), *Elegies Majeures* (1979). The most important collection of his philosophical, political, and cultural essays is contained in the volumes of *Liberté I* (1964), *Liberté II* (1971), *Liberté 3* (1977), *Liberté 4* (1983), and *Liberté 5* (1992). He was one of the founders of the Senegalese Democratic Front in 1948. He was elected the first president of the Republic of Senegal in 1960 and was re-elected four more times until 1980. His administration was oriented toward an African socialism that tried to distinguish itself from European Marxism.

Senghor was also one of the founders of the Negritude intellectual movement in Paris in the 1930s. Santa Cruz took up the Negritude cause in Peru in the 1950s. The two men met in Dakar in 1974 during the *International Congress Negritude and Latin America*. At that meeting, Senghor called Santa Cruz “the poet of Latin America.” Afro-descendant intellectuals from

different countries such as Aime Cesaire, Leon Damas, Franz Fanon, Langston Hughes, and Nicolas Guillen, among others, influenced the work of both.

Nicomedes Santa Cruz was born in La Victoria district, Lima, in 1925. La Victoria was well-known as a neighborhood with a large Afro-Peruvian presence. He learned the locksmith business during his youth then became a blacksmith. In 1945, he met the poet and musician Porfirio Vasquez, who taught him how to create *décimas* (popular poetic style). In 1957, he traveled across Peru and Latin America reciting his own *décimas* in popular theaters. Back in Peru, he performed in theaters in working-class neighborhoods and participated in different radial productions. He was interviewed by La Prensa newspaper in June 5, 1958, thereby reaching a national audience. That interview gave him a reputation that motivated different intellectual circles to invite him to their activities. These contacts stimulated Santa Cruz's further critical reading and exploration. In 1959, his book *Décimas* was published; then, *Cumanana* in 1964, *Canto a mi Perú* in 1966, *Décimas y Poemas* in 1971, *Ritmos Negros del Perú* in 1971, and *Rimactampu* in 1972. His long essay, *La Décima en el Perú*, was published in 1982 by the Peruvian Studies Institute. Santa Cruz died in Spain in 1992 where he spent his last 12 years.

Luciano was a sociologist who focused his research on Afro-Peruvian communities with special attention to their oral traditions and economic-political conditions. He facilitated many workshops on citizenship and leadership for Afro-descendants. His political ideology was centered in a critical and progressive conception of democracy and human rights. He did not have personal ties with neither Senghor nor Santa Cruz, but his work was influenced by them and also by the Martinican political thinker Franz Fanon and the Afro-American writer James Baldwin.

Despite being located in different socio-political stages, Senghor, Santa Cruz, and Luciano's discourses expressed a common struggle against Western cultural imperialism and racism, and they aimed to transform states' cultural policies at the global, African, Latin American, and Peruvian levels, respectively.

Senghor and the Civilization of the Universal

In an international context shaped by the imperialist violence of some Western nations (by geography or identity) against non-European peoples, Negritude emerged as an intellectual movement that confronted colonial images and ideologies that fed that imperialism. Negritude focused its critique on issues of cultural colonialism, European ethnocentrism, and racism against South Saharan peoples and their Diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean region. The Martinican poet Aime Cesaire (1972), one of the founders of the Negritude movement, thought that the European struggles for world hegemony presupposed a priori disdain or denial of other cultural identities. The lack of recognition of the equal dignity of non-European people led to a symbolic and moral aggression. These colonial ideologies instilled physical aggression such as military invasions, the expropriation of natural resources, and economic exploitation against those people defined as inferior and barbarian.

In his search for a theoretical approach that could overcome the ethnocentrism that led to projects of hegemony, which created conflicts between peoples, Senghor founded the ethical-political principle of complementary equality between cultures. From this principle, he proposed the project of the Civilization of the Universal:

Nous construisons la Civilisation de l'Universel, où chaque civilisation différente apportera ses valeurs les plus créatrices parce que les plus complémentaires [We will build the Civilization of the Universal where each different civilization will bring its more creative values, which are their more complementary values] (1977, 241).

Senghor suggested that this civilization be consolidated on the basis of comparative studies and dialogue across cultures from different continents. This was supposed to be a process where people were oriented to discover their complementary differences and to co-exist in peace. From these complementarities, a global multicultural matrix would rise up where all different cultures could be articulated.

For Senghor, the search for the universal did not mean the desire to culturally homogenize people. His principle proposed a qualitative and not a quantitative equality. Therefore, the construction of this new civilization did not require cultural conversion of any country. It required the affirmation of their identities along with the will to make dialogue with other peoples. The Senghorian multicultural universality challenged the Western attempt of representing universality, which was followed by the ethno-centric project that tried on the cultural conversion of others. In other words, the West required the Westernization of others.

The Senghorian principle assumed with optimism that cultural complementarities exist. Senghor thought that different cultures (historical constructions) that made sense for people during thousands of years should have similarities and complementarities. In addition, these cultures should be valuable. The comparative study of people could show that different beliefs and practices between cultures often were not incompatible. Therefore, these could be seen as

complementary. Moreover, Senghor understood that sources of knowledge were the same for all human beings: sensibility, will, intuition, and discourse. For him, cultural differences were based on different ways to conjugate these sources:

C'est un fait, et mondial, toutes les cultures de tous les continents, race et nations sont, aujourd'hui, des cultures de symbiose ... A ce vaste dialogue qui se fait à l'échelle de l'Universel, tous les continents ont contribué, le plus vieux, l'Afrique, comme le plus jeune, l'Amérique [It is a global fact that, currently, cultures of all continents, races, and nations are result of cultural symbiosis ... All continents from the oldest, Africa, to the youngest, America, have contributed to this vast dialogue implemented close to the Universal] (1992, 210).

According to Senghor, this new civilization of the universal already existed in the intercultural content of current civilizations, obtained by successive exchanges and communications among different peoples throughout history.

No culture or civilization was isolated from others and their (collaborative or hostile) relationships transferred content from one to another throughout the world. These exchanges had already changed original traditions. Continuous relationships between civilizations were building a universal and diverse matrix.

According to Senghor, this global multicultural civilization already had seeds across the world and its development should become one of the most important political-cultural goals for contemporary states. He suggested that states dictate policies and allocate resources in order to promote the progress of international and intercultural dialogues that were building new

consensus for humanity. He also thought this should be a central mission of international organizations such as the United Nations. The building of this Civilization of the Universal would create peaceful and more cooperative relations among peoples (Senghor, 1977). In this way, the new civilization would establish political-cultural conditions for worthy co-existence among peoples across the world.

One of the civilizations that should be part of these dialogues was the South Saharan civilization that Senghor called the civilization of the Negritude: “l’ensemble des valeurs culturelles du monde noir, telles qu’elles s’expriment dans la vie, les institutions et les oeuvres des noirs” [set of cultural values of the Black world such as are expressed in the life, institutions, and works of Black people] (1964, 9). For example, Senghor thought that Negritude as well as Arabite (Arabic cultures) were part of a major historical-cultural unity that he called ‘Africanity’: “J’ai souvent défini l’Africanité comme la ‘symbiose complémentaire des valeurs de l’Arabisme et des valeurs de la Négritude » [I have often defined Africanity as the complementary symbiosis of Arab and Negritude values] (1976, 10). He saw Africanity as a unity that included the long and continuous dialogue between Arab culture [North Africa] and Negritude. As with every civilization, Negritude has its own diversity, dilemmas, and contradictions on issues of gender, economy, culture, language, religion, and civil morality; however, its extreme political problems had come from external sources in the last five centuries. European military, economic, and political forces had colonized the South Sahara and had forced the Diaspora of its peoples. These forces had dispersed African cultures throughout the world, which brought them to the Americas. The European colonizers denied the humanity of South Saharan people. In other words, they rejected their reality as subjects with culture, history, and ethical traditions. The extreme consequences of this colonization were the slavery and genocide of South Saharan peoples.

In his confrontation with contemporary racism, Senghor refuted essentialist ideas about races that stemmed from colonialism. For Senghor, a race was basically the conjunction between geography and history (1964). Moreover, he thought that ideas about racial and cultural purity expressed an anti-historical illusion because individuals from different ‘races’ and cultures had had multiple exchanges during millennia and these exchanges had become more intense in the whole world in the last five centuries due to massive travels, trade, migrations, wars, and colonization:

Depuis la Renaissance, donc, les navigateurs européens ont découvert l’Amérique, l’Océanie, l’Afrique noire et l’Extrême-Orient. L’Europe y a étendu son commerce, ce qui a puissamment contribué à son développement industriel. Ses historiens ont surtout insisté sur l’ ‘expansion de la civilisation européenne’. Cependant, pour négligé que soit cet aspect du problème, les civilisations asiatique, océanienne et négro-africaine ont, à leur tour, influencé la civilisation européenne [After the Renaissance, European navigators discovered America, the South Pacific, Black Africa, and the Far East. Europe extended its trade, which has contributed to its industrial development. European historians have overall highlighted the expansion of European civilization. However, Asian, South Pacific, and Black African civilizations have influenced European civilization, although this part of the problem is neglected] (1992, 130).

The globalization of modern industry and trade was made in the context of colonial relationships among colonial and colonized nations. Through these relationships, not only the colonizer culture impacted on the colonized; colonizers were also influenced by the traditions of

colonized people. This was a social phenomenon historically dismissed by the official history of states that worked for the global hegemony of Western culture. The globalization process had caused cultural mixing in all continents for both the colonizers and the colonized people.

The open discussion of cultural and biological transcontinental mixings was an important step in Senghor's intercultural project (1992). Considering that cultural and biological differences were not absolute, dialogues could begin in content that was already similar or common to the various cultures in communication. In addition, Senghor thought that cultural exchange could be a great stimulus for cultural development. Cultural exchange had been a favorable condition for creativity, that is to say, for people's individual and collective artistic, scientific, and political development: "Il est significatif que les grandes civilisations aient été métissées. Des noms prestigieux se pressent dans ma mémoire: Sumer, l'Égypte, la Grèce" [It is significant that great civilizations have been mixed. Prestigious names that come to my mind are: Sumerian, Egypt, and Greece] (1964, 91). In fact, he affirmed that the basis of Negritude had been built by means of exchanges among South Saharan and North Saharan, Middle Eastern, and European peoples for millennia.

As an example of the impact of African colonized people on the culture of European colonizers, Senghor pointed out that the African Diaspora had had a strong impact on the aesthetic sensibility of European nations; something that Euro-centric discourses refused to acknowledge. The so-called global arts of the 20th century had a notorious influence of Negritude: "Sans les vertus de la Négritude, ni la sculpture, ni la peinture, ni la tapisserie, je dis ni la musique ni la danse seraient ce qu'elles sont aujourd'hui: les expressions, déjà, d'une civilisation de l'Universel." [Without Negritude virtues, not sculpture, painting or tapestry, or musique or

dance would be what they are today: already expressions of the civilization of the Universal] (1977, 10). In some way, global arts of the 20th century were the model of the multicultural civilization proposed by Senghor.

For Senghor, an important political contribution of Negritude was the African socialism:

L'on ne peut séparer la Négritude du socialisme. Essentiellement, encore une fois, parce que, dans sa tradition la plus ancienne, la Négritude est communalisme, c'est-à-dire élaboration et réalisation communes d'un Project communautaire et, en même temps, justice sociale, mais, auparavant, démocratie délibérant et travaillant [One cannot separate Negritude from socialism since Negritude, according to its oldest tradition, is essentially communitarism. That is, it is the common elaboration and realization of a communal project and, at the same time, social justice, but first, a deliberate and working democracy] (1977, 473).

From this conception of communitarianism based on African cultural traditions, Senghor questioned the social and environmental impact of economic and industrial capitalism.

One of Senghor's most important findings for his ethical-political project was the Arab-Berber philosophy as a meeting point between Indo-European and South Saharan ontological traditions:

J'ai, souvent, pensé que l'Indo-européen et le Négro-africain étaient situés aux antipodes, c'est-à-dire aux extrêmes de l'objectivité et de la subjectivité, de la raison discursive et de la raison intuitive, du concept et de l'image, du calcul et de la passion. Et j'ai prôné, comme idéal de l'humanisme du XXe siècle, la symbiose

de ces éléments différents, mais complémentaires. C'est, précisément, à la réalisation de cet idéal qu'ont travaillé tous les grands penseurs arabo-berbères, qu'ils fussent du Machrek ou du Maghreb, qu'ils fussent chrétiens ou musulmans [I have often thought that Indo-European and Negritude cultures were, at the extremes of objectivity and subjectivity, discursive versus intuitive reason, concept versus image, calculus versus passion. I have advocated for the symbiosis of these different and complementary elements as an ideal for 20th century humanism. Great Arab-Berber thinkers have worked for the development of this ideal, whether Mashreq or Magreb, Christian or Muslim] (1967, 100).

In some way, the project of the Civilization of the Universal also recovered this old ideal of North Saharan thinkers who were concerned about dialogue and mutual comprehension between different worldviews.

According to Senghor, the affirmation of Negritude values did not mean to oppose an African ethnocentrism as an alternative to European ethnocentrism:

Voulant être fidèles à notre idéal, nous avons décidé, en effet, de nous enraciner, le plus profondément possible, dans les valeurs de la Négritude, pour nous ouvrir à celles des autres continents et ethnies, c'est-à-dire des autres civilisations. Il s'agit de construire un monde plus humain parce que plus complémentaire dans sa diversité [By wanting to be loyal to our ideal, we have decided in fact to root ourselves deep in the values of Negritude in order to open ourselves to values from other continents and ethnicities ; that is, from other civilizations. This is

about building a world that is more human world because it will be more complementary in its diversity] (1992, 123).

For Senghor, the affirmation of one's own culture should not lead to ethnocentrism. The exploration of one's own cultural identity is necessary in order to build an identity open to dialogue with other cultures. These dialogues and mutual exchanges are going to encourage greater humanization of all people to the extent that will guide to a more inclusive world.

Senghor thought that the growing inter-dependence among all peoples across the world made more urgent the development of a global humanism with contributions of all civilizations (1992). The intensification of cultural exchanges would also lead to more biological exchanges in addition to cultural hybridity: "[La Civilisation de l'Universel], comme on le sait, sera de plus en plus, malgré tous les préjugés, le résultat d'un métissage biologique, encore plus d'une symbiose culturelle" [The Civilization of the Universal, as has been said, will increasingly result from biological mixing, despite all the prejudices, but even more will result from cultural symbiosis] (1992, 280). Descendants of parents from different cultures would be, in some way, promoters of the global multicultural civilization.

Senghor affirmed that the biggest contemporary obstacle against dialogue between cultures and civilizations came from the imperialist pretensions of the US and its European allies:

S'il faut continuer, en l'intensifiant, la lutte pour la construction d'une 'civilisation panhumaine', c'est que l'Euroamérique la subit plus qu'elle ne la souhaite, n'y travaille. Ce qu'elle voulait, ce qu'elle cherche à imposer, dans les faits, c'est sa propre civilisation comme 'civilisation universelle', mais non 'de

l'Universel' [If the fight for building a trans-continental civilization should be continued, that is what the U. S. experience but they do not desire it nor work for that. What the U. S. want, what the U. S. try to impose, is their own civilization as the universal civilization, but not the civilization of the universal] (1977, 10).

He saw U.S. and European powers as continuing to promote their ethnocentric project of imposing their own civilization as the universal civilization. However, everyday cultural expressions in what is called 'Western civilization' show evidence of multiple transcontinental exchanges. The international commitment to the construction of the Civilization of the Universal would mean that the U.S. and its allies were willing to democratize international relationships, which would force them to put aside their power situation and their hegemonic goals based on their economic, military, and media infrastructure.

In recent decades, the project of implementing dialogues between cultures and civilizations has been subscribed by philosophers and politicians such as Jacques Derrida (The dialogue between Derrida and Mustafa Cherif in the book *The Islam and the West* reflects the search and concern for mutual understanding between civilizations), Gianni Vattimo, and Nelson Mandela. Moreover, the proposal of implementing these dialogues has also become part of the agenda for international relationships of UN. In 1998, The UN announced that 2001 was 'The Year of Dialogues between Civilizations.' As part of this agenda, the UN selected a group of outstanding intellectuals from different continents to elaborate a publication on the dialogue between civilizations as a methodology to facilitate a new paradigm in international relations.

The principle of complementary equality between cultures that Senghor projected on a global scale also can be projected and applied on a national scale in Peru. This principle can be

useful to establish favorable conditions for the application of interculturality. First, it can help us frame Peruvian socio-cultural diversity (which is transcontinental) in a democratic way, overcoming the alleged hierarchies that come from the colonial ideology. Second, it can stimulate the search for complementary values among Indigenous, African, Asian, European, and Middle Eastern traditions. These traditions co-exist and have had multiple exchanges in Peruvian territory for centuries. This process of exploration and dialogue could show the cultural hybridity of each group as well as future possibilities of mutual enrichment. By confronting the internal colonialism (assimilation, hegemony) that has shaped relationships among Peruvian cultural groups, it is possible to build an interculturality like a Civilization of the Universal at national level. It would be something like a matrix of beliefs and practices where all cultures are recognized as equal and complementary inside a democratic Peruvian culture.

Santa Cruz and Latin American Identity

Throughout his work, Santa Cruz explored the complexities of Afro-Peruvian, Peruvian, and Latin American cultural identities through their popular expressions. For Santa Cruz, the culture was “la suma de todos los recursos a que apelan nuestros pueblos para vivir, así como las múltiples formas como manifiestan su existencia generación tras generación” [the sum of all resources used by our peoples for living, as well as the multiple ways they express their existence, generation after generation] (2004b, 232). He considered culture as a historic reality which, at the same time, is recreated in the ordinary life of communities. He confronted the elitist notion of culture in Latin America which was part of dominant beliefs imposed by *criollo* groups. For this elitist conception, the book was the highest expression of culture. Along with written literacy, the dominant culture considered cultural works only those creations made according to

European artistic and intellectual rules. This *criollo* conception reduced culture to what corresponded to the criteria of the small and westernized Latin America elite. Santa Cruz amplified the notion of culture to include diverse productions which had been created, recreated, and transmitted by peoples in order to live and express themselves. In this way, he recognized expressions of Indigenous and Afro-descendant communities as cultural creations.

Santa Cruz's definition of culture was more open, communitarian, and heterogeneous than that used by the *criollo* intellectuals. His definition brought potential political consequences that challenged the Peruvian establishment and implied the recognition of popular traditions as cultural creations. His approach assumed that popular cultures were equally valuable to the culture of elite. The Peruvian state had promoted through public education a *criollo*-centric conception of national culture that denied the existence of other socio-cultural traditions. The *criollo* state had justified its own role as the institution that should lead society toward progress and modernity, which meant in its own terms the westernization of the country. State discourses had presupposed the underdevelopment, backwardness, ignorance, and barbarism of the majority of Peru's population; especially of those less familiar with European cultures, that is to say, Indigenous and Afro-Peruvians:

Instaurada la república (de criollos), se plantea la antinomia 'civilización y barbarie', vale decir Europa versus América; trampa semiótica que el etnocentrismo europeo traducía en 'blanco e indio' o 'blanco y negro'. Así pues, la república no cancela tales categorías sociales surgidas del modo de producción esclavista en sus relaciones de amos y esclavos [As soon as the (White) republic was founded, the antinomy 'civilization and barbarism' was proposed. This

antinomy meant Europe versus America; a semiotic trap that European ethnocentrism translated as ‘White and Indian’ or ‘White and Black’. So, the republic did not cancel those social categories created by the slave mode of production in the relationships of masters and slaves] (1982a, 233).

From these denigrating Euro-centric prejudices, the Peruvian state had implemented diverse policies to homogenize their countries according to *criollo* paradigms. Public school systems were key to building mono-cultural and monolingual societies. Therefore, schools had implemented *criollo* policies which had most notoriously banned all Indigenous languages. These policies had also denigrated the family and community traditions of Indigenous, African, and Asian students in order to force them to convert to *criollo* culture and language. These practices had caused marginalization, humiliation, shame, exclusion, and school desertion as well as resistance and rebellions at schools serving Indigenous and Afro-Peruvian populations.

According to Santa Cruz, official national symbols in Latin America were created with content that were unfamiliar for Indigenous and Afro-descendants populations. This was a decision that had racist motivations: “Cuando nuestras jóvenes repúblicas sintieron la necesidad de elegir los símbolos representativos de sus valores culturales, aflorando los racismos latentes, se buscó blanquear en lo posible esa imagen colonial” [When our young republics felt the need to choose symbols of their cultural values, uncovering hidden racisms, they tried hard to whiten their colonial images] (1982a, 234). The separation between the symbols of nation-states and the majority of their population had caused as identity crisis in Latin American societies (1982a). In some way, colonial prejudices had impeded Latin America from building national identities

where most peoples could be reflected and included, and could feel motivated to participate as citizens.

Santa Cruz's conception of culture subverted ethno-centric presuppositions of *criollo* groups and, then, allowed the acknowledgement of Indigenous and Afro-Peruvians expressions as equally rich and important for the construction of Peruanity. At the same time, Santa Cruz's conception permitted a critique of official notions of national culture and identity due to its discriminatory content, and advocated for the recognition of the culture of marginalized groups inside Peru.

This *criollo* discourse on national culture had promoted a Euro-centric and elitist construction of Latin American history (1982a). This narrative has focused on representatives of Spanish royalty and church during colonial times, and *criollo* heroes and leaders during the republican period:

La historia que comienza con los Reyes Católicos y el descubrimiento, para seguir con Pizarro y Cortés, la historia de la evangelización en las reducciones y encomiendas de indios, la del Santo Oficio y el Tribunal de la Santa Inquisición, la vida y milagros de los empolvados cuarenta virreyes y los republicanos enjuagues de los ciento cincuenta presidentes ...Esa es la historia de los gobernantes y no de los gobernados [The history that begins with the Catholic Kings and the Discovery, that continues with Pizarro and Cortes; the history of evangelization in Indigenous reservations and lands, the Inquisition, the life and miracles of the forty powdered viceroys and the republican whitewash of one

hundred fifty presidents ...that is the history of the rulers but not of the ruled]
(1982a, 233).

Santa Cruz demanded the recognition of alternative narratives to the official history. The formation of an authentic and solid peoples' identity depended on the acknowledgement and dissemination of their own history. Colonial and republican authorities had imposed their own history as the history of Latin American peoples, but "Nuestra historia está [...] no en los tratados [...] de la biblioteca del rector universitario" [Our history is ...not in the books ... of the university president's library.] (1982a, 232).

Due to the criollo design of national symbols as well as historical knowledge, Latin American peoples' identities had been built in fragmentary and contradictory ways, full of denials, alienations, and even shame. The strengthening of Latin American popular identities depended on the rescue of popular history "Para rescatar nuestra identidad cultural tenemos que recurrir a nuestra historia" [We have to turn to our history in order to rescue our cultural identity] (1982a, p. 232). With that goal, it was necessary to focus on the narratives of working and rebellious people, on the marginalized popular memories. This construction of peoples' history, as a counter-narrative, should use different sources of information preserved by people; narratives, arts, and communities: "Nuestra historia está en los cabildos de nación, en los palenques de cimarrones, en el calpulli y la milpa, en el ayllu y la marka" [Our history is in maroons' towns and slave villages, in the clan and the little plot of corn, in the ayllu and the marka (references to various ways Indigenous communities organize themselves throughout Latin America)] (1982a, 232).

For Santa Cruz, Latin American history was marked by peoples' struggles against the occupation, expropriation, oppression, and exploitation of their territories and their work: "Nuestra verdadera historia está en las rebeliones campesinas y guerrilleras de liberación nacional" [Our true history is in the peasants and guerrilla rebellions for national liberation] (1982a, 232). His reading of the past assumed as significant events those where political, economic, cultural, and social freedom was expanded. He advocated for the progress of human freedom in everyday life as the goal that should be pursued by people in their historic actions. He highlighted collective struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism as measures to end structural injustice in Latin American countries.

The political thought of Santa Cruz was placed inside the modern republican paradigms based on principles of freedom and equality, and the Negritude principle of universal fraternity. He thought that freedom as well as equality and fraternity should guide the global movement of people for a free world:

<i>Tras la última batalla,</i>	<i>After the last battle</i>
<i>Libre la gente oprimida,</i>	<i>Free oppressed people</i>
<i>Vendrá otro canto a la vida</i>	<i>Another song to life will come</i>
<i>Porque el cantor nunca calla:</i>	<i>Because the singer is never silenced</i>
<i>¡Este es un himno que estalla</i>	<i>This is an anthem that breaks out</i>
<i>En notas primaverales,</i>	<i>In spring like notes</i>
<i>Y a sus acordes triunfales</i>	<i>And with its victorious chords</i>
<i>Todos los seres humanos</i>	<i>All human beings</i>
<i>Al fin se sienten hermanos</i>	<i>Finally feel like brothers and sisters</i>

<i>Porque todos son iguales ...!</i>	<i>Because all are equal.</i>
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(2004a, 483).

Santa Cruz's socio-political thought was founded on the idea of the whole humanity as a family. The equality and unity of human beings was deduced from this idea and became his moral principle.

Santa Cruz paid special attention to the ideological contradictions between his political principles and the principles of capitalism. For him, the affirmation of the principles of freedom, equality, and fraternity among human beings cannot thrive in a system where some human beings are used to serve the material interest of others. Exploitation was incompatible with his principles. Santa Cruz thought that political democracy requires economic democracy, which he understood as socialism.

Inside Latin American peoples' history, Santa Cruz thought that Afro-descendants had confronted the extreme social, economic, military, and political consequences of colonialism such as racism, slavery, and physical violence. This difficult experience was the main reason they fought for national independence and for the creation of democratic republics based on modern political principles. Their extreme situation explains why Haitian people were the first to fight for their independence in Latin America. Afro-descendants had everything to win and nothing to lose if they fought for independence. Haiti had a majority of Afro-descendants and they gained independence in 1804. The Haitian republic was the only country which supported with soldiers and guns the independence project of Simon Bolivar for South America. However, when the new republics were established in the region, afro-descendants were excluded from new national citizenships (Minority Rights Groups, 1995).

Santa Cruz saw Latin America as a social unity which was multicultural by historic formation. Specifically, he saw three traditions as a common ground of Latin America cultural identity: Indigenous, European, and African roots:

<i>Nací cerca de Cuzco</i>	<i>I was born close to Cuzco</i>
<i>Admiro a Puebla</i>	<i>I admire Puebla</i>
<i>Me inspira el ron de las Antillas</i>	<i>I'm inspired by the rum of the Antilles</i>
<i>Canto con voz argentina</i>	<i>I sing with an Argentinian voice</i>
<i>Creo en Santa Rosa de Lima</i>	<i>I believe in Santa Rosa de Lima</i>
<i>Y en los Orishas de Bahía.</i>	<i>And in the Orishas from Bahia</i>

(2004a, 319).

Santa Cruz's arguments for the historical-cultural unity of Latin America came from the content of popular culture, religion, and art. This cultural trinity also gave birth to Peru; Peruvian traditions sprang from the clash/meeting of European, African, and Indigenous civilizations:

Porque la presencia negra se da desde el mismo momento histórico [...] en que chocan dos colosales culturas europea e incaica; pero su influencia tendrá lugar algo más tarde, cuando invasor y sojuzgado empiecen a mezclar sangres y culturas en un mestizaje cuya síntesis dialéctica se llama peruanidad [Because there was a Black presence since the historic moment ...when two great cultures crashed, the Spanish and the Inca; but Black influence happened a bit later, when the invasor and the subjugated began mixing their bloods and cultures in a *mestizaje* whose dialectic synthesis is named Peruanity] (2004b, 20).

Peruvian socio-cultural diversity, therefore, went beyond the Spanish-Inca duality proclaimed by *criollo* discourse. However, due to the colonial legacy, the real diversity of the colonial past was denied, opposed, minimized or degraded by subordinating the Indigenous to the Spanish and making invisible African and Middle Eastern roots.

Even, the contemporary *criollo* republican discourse reduced dozens of Indigenous cultures to a single composite Inca culture in the last century. Santa Cruz highlighted the diversity among Indigenous Peruvians as well as solidarity among African, Indigenous, and European descendants in this poem which names various indigenous peoples in Peru:

<i>Quisiera extender los brazos</i>	<i>I want to extend my arms</i>
<i>Hacia norte, sur y oriente</i>	<i>Toward north, south, and east</i>
<i>Para estrechar a mi gente</i>	<i>To clasp my people</i>
<i>En un gigantesco abrazo.</i>	<i>In a huge hug</i>
<i>Que en indisoluble lazo</i>	<i>that in an unbreakable bond</i>
<i>Colla, quechua, poccra, chanka,</i>	<i>Colla, quechua, poccra, chanka,</i>
<i>Mochica, tarumá, huanca,</i>	<i>Mochica, tarumá, huanca,</i>
<i>Campa, jívaro, chimú,</i>	<i>Campa, jívaro, chimú,</i>
<i>Comprendieran que el Perú</i>	<i>Understand that Peru</i>
<i>Es nación negrindoblanca.</i>	<i>Is a Black/Indian/White nation.</i>

(1966, 33)

Santa Cruz advocated that this social diversity should be recognized, reconciled, and integrated in politics and education. To accomplish this, it was important to explore various socio-cultural groups and to discover their multiple cultural and biological exchanges made throughout Peruvian history; in other words, to uncover the *mestizaje* of the colonized and colonizer groups. The Hispanization of Indigenous and Africans was achieved alongside the Indigenization of Spaniards and Africans, as well as the Africanization of Spaniards and

Indigenous people. In his poems, such as *Blasón*, Santa Cruz described part of these phenomena, which has been also ignored in the official history:

<i>Soy hidalgo castellano</i>	<i>I am a Castilian nobleman</i>
<i>Con heráldico blasón.</i>	<i>With a heraldic coat of arms</i>
<i>Pero entre palma y cajón</i>	<i>But between palm and drum</i>
<i>Décimas y ron de caña</i>	<i>Poetry and rum</i>
<i>Olvido a la Madre España</i>	<i>I forget the Spanish motherland</i>
<i>Por mis negros del galpón.</i>	<i>For my Blacks from the barn.</i>

(2004a, 274).

Based on his explorations of popular culture, Santa Cruz not only highlighted peoples' narratives in contrast to the official history, but he also opposed the alleged hierarchy among cultures imposed by European colonialism and postcolonial *mestizaje* ideologies. In addition, Santa Cruz recreated the idea of *mestizaje* including Indigenous and Afro-Latino cultures as equal in value as the Hispanic one. From his findings, Santa Cruz proposed to modernize Peruvian and Latin American identities, which meant to democratize them by promoting freedom, equality, and fraternity among their various socio-cultural groups:

<i>Yo tengo fe en el Perú</i>	<i>I have faith in Peru</i>
<i>Que va hacia la integración</i>	<i>That goes toward integration</i>
<i>Pues, sin discriminación</i>	<i>Because without discrimination</i>
<i>Los hombres se hablan de 'tú'...</i>	<i>Persons talk each other using 'tú'</i>
<i>Al mochica en Monsefú,</i>	<i>To the Mochica in Monsefu,</i>
<i>Al quechua de Paucartambo,</i>	<i>To the Quechua from Paucartambo,</i>
<i>Al limeño de Malambo</i>	<i>To the Afro-Peruvian from Malambo,</i>
<i>Y al shipibo de Loreto</i>	<i>To the Shipibo from Loreto</i>
<i>Los abraza con respeto</i>	<i>My fraternal Afro-mestizo love</i>
<i>Mi fraterno amor de zambo...</i>	<i>Hugs you with respect.</i>

(1966, 12).

These modern political ideals and ideals of Negritude were the foundation of Santa Cruz's anti-colonial and anti-racist position. According to him, principles of freedom, equality, and fraternity should regulate the relationships among cultures. In this he agrees importantly with Senghor, who also was inspired by a progressive understanding of modernity. Moreover, Santa Cruz proposed his conception of Latin American *mestizaje* as a tool for the decolonization of societies in the region. His *mestizaje* allowed him to question the alleged *criollo* superiority and the Euro-centrism of dominant groups as well as to revalue the role of Indigenous and African peoples and cultures in the construction of Latin America. Senghor similarly saw *mestizaje* as a tool for decolonization and affirmed that *mestizaje* was already a historic fact in every continent. He thought that the continuation of this process of *mestizaje* would intensify inter-cultural dialogues in the future.

Although Santa Cruz's view of the integration among Peru's socio-cultural groups might be expected to have led him to a more inclusive description of Peruvian diversity, he failed to take the next step, where also contributions of Middle Eastern and Asian communities should be recognized. Nevertheless, to bring the description of Peruvians cultural traditions beyond the trinity Hispanic-South Saharan-Indigenous roots would be completely consistent with Santa Cruz cultural-political proposals.

In his debates against racism, Santa Cruz distinguished between 'culture' and what the colonial ideology named 'race': "pretender identificar la cultura a partir de la *raza* es seguir hundido en la alienación, porque esa trampa hace mucho que la armó el colonizador en su propio beneficio" [To try to identify culture based on race is to continue under alienation, because that trap was set by the colonizer for his own benefit a long time ago] (2004b, 232). The confusion

between culture and race led to a racial essentialism that concluded reaffirming the basic presupposition of colonial racism, the alleged genetic and unchangeable intellectual, moral, and physical differences among persons of different skin colors.

Santa Cruz believed that those who fight for the rights of Indigenous and Afro-Latino peoples should avoid racial essentialism, because this falls within the colonial matrix granting the biology of human beings as a determinant identity factor. He also questioned the meaning of racial categories established inside the academic world and, cautioned about the risk of assumed them like an empirical reality: “*indio y negro* son meros conceptos, categorías sociales emanadas del colonialismo esclavista” [Indigenous and Black are merely concepts, social categories that come from colonial slavery] (2004b, 232). He thought that human condition and potentialities were universal. From this point of view, he developed a historicist conception of Negritude that opposed essentialist ideas inside some theories of African Diaspora: “Yo no creo en *poesía negra*, porque tampoco creo en *poesía blanca* ni en *poesía azul*” [I do not believe in black poetry, because I do not believe in white or blue poetry either] (2004a, 331). Racial essentialism implies biological determinism. A social consequence of the spreading of these ideas has been the segregation and self-segregation of cultural groups. On the contrary, Santa Cruz advocated for the cultural and ethnic integration of peoples, especially in Latin America, but it should be done overcoming any kind of oppression and subordination among them.

Santa Cruz thought that individuals should not be concerned about their skin color. They should be concerned about living with honor. For him, the ethical and moral conditions were the most important things:

<i>Muy claramente se explica</i>	It is clearly explained
<i>Que viviendo con honor</i>	That living with honor
<i>Nacer de cualquier color,</i>	To be born with whatever color
<i>Eso a nadie perjudica.</i>	That damages to none.

(2004a, 60).

The dignity of the moral condition should be the main concern of individuals. This is a matter of individual will and choices. The skin color, as well as gender, social class, nationality, culture, and other historic differences did not undermine dignity or universal condition of humanity, but enriched it.

Santa Cruz put into practice his educational proposal for the decolonization of Latin America throughout the exploration and learning from popular history and culture. He developed multiples researches about Latin American popular poetry, dancing, and music for many decades. Moreover, as a poet and playwright, his work was committed to the revaluation and enrichment of Afro-Latino and Indigenous traditions.

Luciano and the Struggle against Racism

Like Senghor and Santa Cruz, Luciano's modern democratic ideals approximate him to socialism, which he also understood as a conception that confronts economic, racial, and cultural oppression. His work was focused on racism because for Luciano, the struggle against racism at social level was crucial in order to promote the democratization of the Peruvian state:

No hay posibilidad de construir un Estado democrático, eficiente, capaz y competente si es que en la base de la sociedad no existe igualdad, si es que no formamos parte de la colectividad basada en la idea de que todos somos iguales y

libres y que por lo tanto nos merecemos los mismos derechos [It is not possible to build a democratic, efficient, able, and competent state if it does not exist equality at the base of the society, if we do not belong to a collectivity based on the idea that we all are equal and free and, therefore, we deserve the same rights] (2002, 96).

The consolidation of a democratic state required the democratization of the Peruvian society. This implied the substitution of colonial beliefs based on alleged hierarchies of rights between skin colors and cultures by the democratic ideas of freedom and equal dignity for individuals and communities. This process of democratization required a new education system where democracy and human rights were transversal topics. Especially, public education should be a tool for the construction of a new Peruvian democratic citizenship with inclusion and social justice.

Luciano also subscribed the idea that the colonial power was organized according to a racist ideology:

Los criterios raciales establecían así no sólo supuestas diferencias biológicas sino también las relaciones de poder imperantes ... Los criterios de raza se convirtieron de esta manera en un soporte ideológico fundamental para el orden colonial basado en las clases [Racial criteria established not only alleged biological differences but also power relationships ... racial criteria became in this way in a key ideological support for the colonial order based on class relationships] (2002, 63).

Therefore, the highest positions in the political, economic, military, and judicial institutions were assigned to European persons, while lowest positions were for Indigenous and South Saharans individuals. This hierarchical organization of colonial power according to physical appearance and blood still subsisted in contemporary Peru. The economic-political spheres of the country were still organized according to colonial system of racial/cultural oppression: “El Perú es un país donde la discriminación es tal vez uno de los problemas estructurales más importantes que hay que combatir” [Peru is a country where discrimination is maybe one of the most important structural issues that we should combat] (2002, 96). This is the major obstacle for reaching a satisfactory level of social justice and development in the country.

In addition, the ideology of colonialism had created a conflict between different life styles and worldviews which have come from other continents and have co-existed in Peru: “Cuando uno piensa en el Perú y habla de la colonia o de la república, lo que debe entender es que a lo largo de la historia peruana había un conflicto de civilizaciones” [When we think about Peru and talk about the colony and the republic, what we should understand is that there was a conflict of civilizations across the Peruvian history] (2002, 117). In short, the colonization of Peru was built upon the violent relationship between colonizer and colonized, that is, the forced subjugation of Indigenous, African, and Middle Eastern peoples by peoples of Castilian Catholic culture. Colonial authorities tried to eradicate non-European beliefs and practices even by bloody method such as those used by the Inquisition (that some Peruvians still call ‘Holy’).

Later, republican states had continued imposing Westernization over cultures, religions, and languages of these peoples and newcomer Asians (Luciano, 2002). The contemporary racialization of power structures reproduced the old battle between civilizations on the Peruvian

territory. Luciano affirmed that: “es fundamental el reconocimiento del hecho colonial y sus consecuencias como el punto de partida básico para el análisis de la realidad socio-cultural del negro en el Perú y América” [The acknowledgement of the colonial fact and its consequences is fundamental as the starting point for the analysis of the socio-cultural reality of Black in Peru and in the Americas] (2002, 23).

Like Santa Cruz, Luciano understood that the situation of Afro-descendants in Peru and the Americas was based upon the structural oppression intrinsic to the colonial system. He inscribed the Afro-Peruvian reality inside the history of African Diaspora in the Americas. This history was marked by process of European colonization whose consequences still damaged to Afro-descendants communities in the region.

Luciano thought that society and political leaders that have controlled the Peruvian democratic state have not critically processed those beliefs that have historically instigated and perpetuated cultural and racial violence from its state institutions against non-European socio-cultural groups. That impedes the progress of Peruvian democracy:

El Perú hasta hoy no ha hecho una ruptura psicológica y colectiva del trauma de la esclavitud y del colonialismo; ese trauma todavía lo seguimos heredando, reproduciendo en las relaciones cotidianas. Mientras no haya desde los actores políticos un auto examen es bien difícil que se produzcan cambios en las instituciones y la democracia peruana cojea, porque todavía ese conflicto no ha sido resuelto [Peru has not psychologically and collectively broken the trauma of slavery and colonialism up. This trauma is still transferred and reproduced in the everyday life. Until political leaders do not make self-examination, it is very hard

to change institutions and the Peruvian democracy is dysfunctional, because that conflict has not been solved yet] (2002, 130).

Instead, Luciano believed that the vestiges of colonialism presented the worst obstacle to democratization. However, he believed that the struggle against social injustice should use political and democratic tools, which meant that this should be done through public discussion, legislation, programs, elections, not by sacrificing the lives of individuals and communities in order to impose one political doctrine:

El afro que luce o la mujer afro que luce tiene que asumir que lo hace por su entorno, por gente viva y no por abstracciones conceptuales que a la larga nos pueden llevar al fanatismo y a la pérdida del sentido de lo humano [The Afro-descendant individual who fights should assume that she/he is fighting for her/his social surroundings, for alive people and not for conceptual abstractions which at the end of the day can drive us to fanaticism and the loss of the human sense] (2002, 104-105).

Luciano separated his position from those who were supporting or participating in armed groups and trying to impose a Marxist doctrine to change political-economic structures of the country. They were using bloody methods to conquer the state. They were instrumentalizing individuals and communities for an alleged revolutionary order. This has been the case of extremist movements such as the Shining Path in the last three decades. This armed group killed dozens of thousands of civilians. The state counter-terrorist strategy also caused dozens of thousands of civilian deaths. The $\frac{3}{4}$ of 70,000 civilians killed by all parts were Indigenous. It seems that the political violence reproduced the structural violence of Peruvian society.

For Luciano, the racist ideology was still alive in the set of general, stereotyped beliefs of Peruvian society. Racism was organized based on a system of categories. These categories had been internalized and had become part of the subjectivity of the Peruvian society. The decolonization also required confronting the use of these racist categories both those who exercised them as those who suffered them. Luciano observed that even those who advocated for the elimination of racism in Peru tended to use a racist vocabulary:

Una de las herencias más enraizadas del colonialismo mental en la sociedad peruana, es que los que luchamos por combatir y acabar con el racismo, todavía seguimos teniendo una visión muy fuerte de que somos “negros”, “indios”, “blancos” o “mestizos”, y no que somos personas; y que el eje de la reivindicación de esta colectividad es el hecho de ser personas y que nuestro combate es porque a esas personas se les ha embalsamado, se les ha metido en un sobre en función del color de su piel. Estamos atrapados en el color de la piel. Por lo tanto, mientras nosotros sigamos intentando trabajar desde la piel estamos perdidos. Tenemos que renunciar a ser negros, a ser negros, no a ser afros. Y esa renuncia es un paso fundamental para la recuperación de la identidad [One of the most impregnated legacies of the mental colonialism in the Peruvian society is that those who fight against racism have still a strong feeling that we are Blacks, Indigenous, White, or mestizo, and not that we are persons and the center of this vindication is the fact of being persons. Our combat is due to that these persons have been embalmed, they have been put in envelopes according to their skin color. We are trapped in the color skin. Therefore, until we continue working based on the color skin we are wrong. We have to give up of being Blacks, of being Black,

nor of being Afros. That giving up is fundamental for the recovering of identity] (2002, 126).

Colonialism had reduced the identity of persons to their physical appearance or the phenotypes of their ancestors. ‘Race’ was a label that made invisible the humanity of individuals. This label was still controlling minds even of those who were fighting for equal rights for all races. Luciano believed that it was necessary to overcome the use of racist categories as identity descriptor of individuals established by colonialism. Individuals and communities should not be firstly identified by their skin color, which is their most external feature, but their culture and history. From that point of view, Luciano faced racism inherent in the use of racial categories:

Personalmente lucho contra el racismo y la discriminación porque quiero dejar de ser negro. Y esto no es renegar de mi cultura, es renegar de la raza que me impusieron. Porque la raza negra no es mi raza, es lo que me han puesto [I personally fight against racism and discrimination because I want to leave being Black. This is not to deny of my culture, it is to deny of that race that was imposed on me. Because the Black race is not my race, it is something imposed on me] (2002, 128).

‘Race’ was an invention of colonialism. People did need to free themselves from colonial categories to see themselves and each other as human beings with cultures and histories. What should be peoples’ concern were the recognition of all ethnicities and the recreation of humanity, not the skin color.

The self-affirmation of collective identity was a tool for resistance but not a goal it-self (2002). Therefore, the discourse of Negritude could be understood as a political tool in order to overcome racism and Euro-centric colonialism, but not to promote an alleged Negritude supremacy:

En momentos de confrontación política e ideológica, la autoafirmación grupal puede ser un paso inicial, pero si eso se convierte en el fundamento de tu acción, vas a reproducir el mismo modelo bajo otras formas [In times of political and ideological confrontation, collective self-affirmation can be a first step, but if that becomes the foundation of your action, you are going to reproduce the same model under other forms] (2002, 127).

Luciano did not think that the affirmation of cultural identity should drive to ethnocentrism:

Admiro y valoro la cultura afro pero también admiro y valoro la cultura celta, como puedo admirar y adorar la cultura maya, ¿por qué me van a privar a mí de ser universal, del derecho de nutrirme de lo rico de la diversidad y la universalidad de lo humano? [I admire and value the Afro culture, but I also admire and value the Celtic culture, as I can admire and love the Maya culture, why I am going to be deprived of being universal, of the right of enjoying the diversity and the universality of humanity?] (2002, 126-127).

As Senghor and Santa Cruz, Luciano saw the self-affirmation of cultural identity as the basis for the opening for the sake of the inclusion of the global diversity.

Interculturalizing Democratic Education

Concepts and proposals of these three thinkers – Senghor, Santa Cruz, and Luciano -- can contribute to the enrichment and transformations of Peruvian self-knowledge by opening social perception to cultural diversity and deepen critical understanding of structural cultural oppression at national, Latin American, and world levels. Their approaches allow a confrontation against colonialism and racism from intercultural points of view, which leads to a new vision of pending tasks of Peruvian democracy. It is important to rethink relationships between interculturality and democracy in order to guide intercultural education policies toward the construction of an inclusive citizenship and the strengthening of social justice awareness.

Both Santa Cruz and Luciano invite us to rethink Peruvian socio-cultural diversity beyond the duality Spanish-Inca. For them, Peruvians should explore that pluralism in its popular expressions. As I argue throughout this chapter, this exploration should not only include Indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples, but also peoples from Asia, Europe, and Middle East. These transcontinental traditions can be approached through the Senghorian principle of complementary equality between cultures, which can lead the implementation of comparative studies and dialogue among these socio-cultural traditions. These studies and dialogue would allow to discover and to include intercultural principles already existent in Peruvian cultural communities.

The Santa Cruz' conception of culture can guide the research and writing of national history from popular memories of excluded peoples. Also, Senghor and Santa Cruz can help to reach a decolonized understanding of mestizaje as well as historic, sociological, and political analysis of colonialism and racial essentialism. Luciano can be useful to confront racism and colonialism from more democratic and human rights categories. Senghor, Santa Cruz, and

Luciano can facilitate an understanding of Peruvian social diversity inside universality and transformation of world cultures.

The still relatively weak Peruvian democracy would be strengthened by an interculturality built on a continuous dialogue among all socio-cultural groups. Maybe, the biggest obstacle is that the last 500 years have impeded these kinds of dialogues, but it is time to begin.

CHAPTER 5

AFRO-PERUVIAN ACTIVISTS AND INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of my interview findings during a small pilot study of representatives of Afro-Peruvian schools and non-profits. My purpose was to explore the objections and counter-proposals to Peruvian official state intercultural education policy, developed by the Yapatera High School (in Piura, northern Peru) and Afro-Peruvian nonprofit organizations CEDET and Lundu (with main offices in Lima city). In Chapter 2, I describe my research with this community-based school and these non-governmental organizations in Peru, during June 21 to July 22, 2009, and September 10 to October 8, 2010.

The first part of this chapter focuses on the history and work of these three institutions: Yapatera High School, CEDET, and Lundu. The second part focuses on their objections to official intercultural education policies as well as their counter proposals or substitute-proposals to the official Peruvian educational policies.

It is important to examine these critiques to the cultural policies of the Peruvian state not as isolated cases, but as expressing critical perspectives from other marginalized socio-cultural groups such as these Afro-Peruvian communities and NGOs. As early as 2008, diverse marginalized cultural organizations had expressed their critiques and visions at the First National Conference on Peruvian Cultural Policies, an event organized by the Peruvian National Institute of Culture and the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation. At that event, more than 400 participants discussed issues of cultural promotion, management, and protection as well as state

principles for cultural policy. The majority of participants in this conference agreed in declaring, first, that culture is a decisive factor in human development. Second, that the state cultural policy has been systematically discriminatory against non-Hispanic groups. Moreover, they proposed more pluralistic and inclusive alternatives (Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 2009). In some way, this chapter is dealing with critical voices of state cultural policies in the education sector coming from Afro-Peruvian activists.

The basic questions that governed this research and that are developed in this chapter are:

1. What are the objections to current state intercultural education policies of these three Afro-Peruvian organizations?
2. What are their proposals to ameliorate or to replace these official policies?

To situate this discussion, first I will briefly describe Yapatera as an example of the living conditions of Afro-Peruvian rural communities, and then I will summarize the history and work of the three organizations that form the basis of this chapter.

Yapatera

Yapatera town, with a population of 10,000, is in Morropón province, Piura region. Yapatera is one of the towns with the greatest presence of African descendants in the Northern Peruvian coast. Its main economic activity is agriculture, especially the production of mangoes. One of its cultural traditions is the creation of *décimas* and *cumananas*. The *cumanana* is *décima* sung in rhyme. Also, people play *checo* as part of their musical tradition. *Checo* is used to perform *tondero*, original music and dance from *Morropón*.

Socio-Economic Situation

The demographic data reviewed in the next four paragraphs is drawn from a CEDET Census (2004a). According to this census data, 79.55% of Yapatera's interviewees stated that they had a Black mother. Each family has 5 members on average and 99.45% of families own their own houses. The average age of mothers at first childbirth is 20 years old. 45.44% of families had children who died. 29.68% of mothers reported not using birth control. 88.36% of births occurred at home with midwives, 3.78% of births occur on the agriculture field and only 6.85% at hospitals. 57.64% of homes have family members living out of the town. Of the latter, 62.67% left town to seek work, 23.29% to get married, and 12.67% to continue their studies.

87% of families have fully paid for their homes. The predominant material is mud bricks. 60.19% of houses have dirt floors. 87.96% have running water but only 11.50% have a sewage system; most have outhouses. I saw the execution of works to extend sewer services in my last trip to Yapatera in 2010. 84.40% of houses have electricity. 61.03% of families have proof of ownership of agricultural land and 9.56% are working to gain paperwork to prove their ownership. 70.25% of agricultural lands are from 2 to 7 acres. The Yapatera agricultural production mainly is mango, rice, corn, and lemons.

In terms of formal education, 81.38% of people know how to read and write. Between 6 and 39 years old, 97.48% know how to read and write; the difference between males and females is a few tenths in favor of men. However, in the same age group only 26.03% finish high school and the 0.61% pursue a college degree (in Peru, high school is typically completed at the age of 16). 96.49% are Catholic, 1.83% is Evangelical, 0.98% has other religious beliefs, and 0.70% lists no any religion.

In terms of employment of people over 14 years old, 35.49% work in agriculture, 10.54% studies, and 35.09% works at home. 53.66% began to work between 13 and 17 years old. Most family members collaborate in planting and harvesting seasons.

In my interviews in Yapatera, my informants told me that many Yapatera people perceived the lack of access to professional careers through college education as one of their main problems because that dramatically restrains future economic, social, and political opportunities for the Yapatera youth (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2010).

Yapatera High School

History

The Yapatera High School was founded in 1981 as a community project led by Juventud Marcha Club of Yapatera. The school began its first years with volunteer teachers. A few months later, the Ministry of Education recognized the school and gave it a budget to pay teachers. In 1983, the Yapatera Agricultural Cooperative donated the first school building, which was the plantation administration building before the Peruvian agrarian reform of 1972 (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2010).

The school staff also informed me that the high school at that time had 202 students with an equal number of girls and boys. The youngest student in September 2010 was 10 years old and the oldest 20 years old. It has two classrooms for each of the five grades. It has one principal, seventeen teachers (nine women and eight men). In 2011, eight used computers arrived at the school, but there still was no Internet access, nor a telephone. Students received textbooks from the Ministry of Education for most classes but not for civic education, art, and religion classes.

The school has no psychologist, counselor or nursing services, but each classroom has a teacher assigned who should deal with psychological, behavioral, or health issues. The dropping out percentage during their five years of study is 10% of boys and 6% of girls. Common causes for dropouts are economic needs that force them to work and early pregnancies. All senior high school students want to go to college, but their families do not have economic resources to send them out of town. The closest universities are in Piura city, 1.5 hours from Yapatera. Of the high school graduates of 2009, 20% attends technological institutes and none reached college. Due to economic constraints, most 2009 graduates went to work in Lima and other cities (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2010).

One of the teachers told me a story that symbolizes the exclusion and economic restraints of Yapatera High School students as well as the great will of some students to overcome these difficulties. An honors student and leader of seniors in 2010 wanted to go to college. However, her family did not have economic resources to support her plans. Due to that, she had decided to go to Lima to work as a maid for two years and save as much of her salary as she could. She had some relatives working in Lima as maids and she hoped that her relatives could help her find a job (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2010).

This story has some similarities with the history that another teacher told me about her youth. She finished her elementary school studies in 1973. She had to stop her formal education because at that time there was no secondary school in Yapatera. Many of her female friends could not finish elementary school because they had to work at home taking care of their younger siblings. She went to Lima to live with her aunts. She hoped that she could continue her education in Lima. But her aunts could not take care of her because they worked six days a week

at the homes of other families as maids. Therefore, she had to return to Yapatera where she had to work taking care of her nine younger siblings. However, she always remembered what one of her elementary school teachers said to her: “La educación es la mayor herencia. Tú eres una buena estudiante. Tú debes saltar sobre cualquier obstáculo para terminar tus estudios” [Education is the best legacy. You are a good student. You should jump over any obstacle to finish your studies.] (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2010). As soon as Yapatera High School was founded, she enrolled there. She was 20 years old. There were 79 students the first year, 60 of them were women. Many of her female elementary school friends could not enroll because they were married or were working as maids in other cities. This teacher highlighted the importance of education to fight against class, racial and gender oppression at the end of our conversation:

Para gente como nosotros, la educación debe ser el objetivo principal. La educación nos enseña a defender nuestros derechos frente a quien sea. Como mujeres tenemos que luchar por nuestros derechos, y la educación es la mejor arma para ello. Sin educación no sabríamos ni cómo defender nuestros derechos [For people like us, education should be our main goal. Education teaches us to defend our rights in front of anyone. As women, we have to fight for our rights and education is our best tool for this fight. Without education we would not know how to defend our rights] (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2010).

A Demonstration to Demand Computers

My observations and different conversations with students, teachers, and staff made me aware that the lack of a computer lab in Yapatera High School represented a serious obstacle for young people to access education. My interviewees informed me that on June 20, 2009, a new high school principal asked the regional government for a computer lab. In November 2009, regional authorities offered to provide that laboratory in 2010. In May 2010, the regional president visited the school and promised in person that the laboratory would be there very soon. Then, authorities affirmed that on July 30, 2010, the laboratory would be established. However, this promise was unfulfilled on September 29, 2010. That day, staff, teachers, students, and parents marched 3 kilometers to the offices of the regional government to demand fulfillment of the promise of computers for the school. I witnessed this demonstration. A few hours later, authorities invited a group of school representatives to discuss this issue. The discussion finished with a compliance schedule for computers, which were set to arrive by the end of November 2010. However, computers did not arrive until March 2011. A few days before the computers arrived, regional authorities removed the Yapatera High School principal and appointed a new principal who is not a member of the local community.

The history of this high school illustrates the long struggle of Yapatera community for improving the access of youth people to formal education. The overarching goal of different strategies used in this struggle has been to overcome the state discrimination against Afro-Peruvians (expressed in the Ministry of Education systematic negligence and mistreatment of Afro-Peruvian schools).

CEDET, Centro de Desarrollo Étnico [Center of Ethnic Development]

In the late eighties, a few Afro-Peruvians non-governmental organizations (NGOs) emerged with the purpose of confronting the socio-political exclusion and oppression of dozens of Afro-Peruvian communities as Yapatera located mainly in the provinces of the Peruvian coast. Since then, several of the NGOs have focused their efforts locally but a few of them have worked nationally. CEDET is the case of an NGO that unfolds not only nationally but, in addition, is building international partnerships with United Nations offices, the World Bank, International Foundations, other NGOs, activists and researchers involved with the problems of Afro-Latino reality.

History

According to CEDET website (www.cedet.unlugar.com) and 10th anniversary dossier (2009), the Center was founded in Lima on July 2, 1999 as an institution of technical cooperation created to design, implement, and manage projects for the development of Afro-Peruvian population. Before 1999, CEDET belonged to the Black Peruvian Movement Francisco Congo (BMFC), which was founded in Lima in 1986. During those years, CEDET gave technical support to the BMFC. In addition, CEDET worked on the systematization of the acquired knowledge about Afro-Peruvian communities and social development.

Until 1999, CEDET's activities included workshops on human rights and citizenship, education, production initiatives, research, communication, and graphic arts in four regions of the country: Ica, Lambayeque, Lima, and Piura. One of CEDET's goals was (and still is) to increase Afro-Peruvian participation in decision-making and implementation of state policies. For CEDET, the political participation of Afro-Peruvians was important if they were to improve

their life conditions and overcome their marginalized, socio-economic oppression, and invisible status.

According to CEDET website (www.cedet.unlugar.com) and the 10th anniversary dossier (2009), the institutional work of CEDET was disturbed by the influence of the political party in power. In 1999, the Peruvian president, Alberto Fujimori, ran for the presidency a third time in violation of the Peruvian Constitution. The country was divided between those who supported Fujimori's aspiration and those who opposed it. The BMFC also was divided by this political conflict. Some members of the BMFC proposed that the movement support the female Afro-Peruvian candidate, Martha Moyano, sister of María Elena Moyano, political leader mentioned in Chapter 2, running for congress as part of Fujimori's party. There were intense debates within the BMFC. This contributed to the breakdown of the movement and the CEDET's members decided to separate themselves from the BMFC.

As a result of this crisis, the CEDET maintained total independence from any partisan political organization. This political experience underlined CEDET's commitment to proposals based on rigorous studies and diagnosis about the needs and situation of Afro-Peruvian communities. Soon after, a group of committees of the Afro-Peruvian civil society founded the Afro-Peruvian National Movement Francisco Congo (ANMFC), which separated from BMFC, proposed a more democratic and participatory institution (CEDET, 2009).

Mission

CEDET website and publications explain that the Center aims to build a complex base of knowledge about Afro-Peruvian lives and culture because there is limited information and

research, and a lack of a theoretical framework about Afro-Peruvian social reality. One of the first completed projects was the construction of a geo-ethnic map of Afro-Peruvian communities (CEDET, 2009). This map helped identify the location of Afro-Peruvian communities and their patterns of migration within the country.

National Plan of Human Rights and Santiago +5 Program

CEDET and other Afro-Peruvian organizations participated in the elaboration of the Peruvian Human Rights Plan in 2000. They formed part of the platform of Afro-Peruvians in the national plan. Moreover, CETED carried out a national study of racism and a study of the level of knowledge and expectations about this plan (CEDET, 2008).

The declaration and action plan of the Regional Conference of the Americas against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and other forms of Intolerance in Santiago de Chile, 2000, was signed by all Latin American governments including Peru. These documents established an ethical-political framework to implement policies and programs to eradicate these social injustices and to evaluate progress in the fight against them.

One of the national events that came from the Santiago's action plan was the four Public Hearings in Piura, Lambayeque, Lima, and Ica, where state officials and Afro-Peruvians had a dialogue about these social issues for the first time in Peruvian history. The achievements of this process of hearings are collected in the book *El Estado y el Pueblo Afroperuano* [State and Afro-Peruvian People] (CEDET, 2005c).

Campaign Ica Earthquake 2007

The Ica region suffered an earthquake that was 7.9 points on the Richter scale on August 15, 2007. This earthquake mainly affected communities with strong Afro-Peruvian identities such as El Carmen, Tambo de Mora, Tupac Amaru, San José de los Molinos, Acomayo, and Manzanilla. Eighty percent of homes were destroyed. Water, power lines, roads, and water reservoirs collapsed in these towns. The population also lost their livelihoods, most of them in the agrarian sector.

CEDET, along with Cimarrones, Makungo, and Todas las Sangres organized an emergency team to help Afro-Peruvian communities affected by this natural disaster on August 16, 2007. They distributed more than five tons of food and clothes, and set up six medical posts. They collected donations from Peruvian and international organizations. During the emergency, CETED coordinated some tasks of reconstruction with local governments and community representatives and also promoted the strengthening of social networks and the elaboration of local development plans, with funding from the Ford Foundation (CEDET website).

Over the years, CETED has held a variety of local, national, international events to raise awareness of Afro-Peruvian life, history and culture, and also to celebrate the achievements of prominent Afro-Peruvians. Some of these events have been geared toward creating solidarity among Afro-descendent scholars and communities throughout the Americas. (For more information about CETED, please see Appendix B).

Lundu, Center for Research and Promotion of Afro-Peruvians

Lundu is one of the youngest and active Afro-Peruvians NGOs that is working at national level. Lundu's projects have placed special emphasis on education and the formation of Afro-Peruvian identity through art. In addition, Lundu has provided the gender perspective in its work.

History

According to Lundu website (<http://lundu.org.pe/inicioweb.html>), this Center began its work on March 31, 2001 as a collective space in Lima where an Afro-Peruvian group of youth held conversations about the socio-political needs of their communities. They decided to organize Lundu as an institution to promote democratic principles and intercultural education.

In 2002, Lundu began its first activity with youth in Lima and Chincha (Ica region), which was called "Redescubriendo las Raíces" [Rediscovering the Roots.] As a result of this activity, Lundu created the Chincha Afro-Peruvian Youth Network which addresses human rights issues at the local level. In 2005, Lundu implemented its first program with youth in Callao, which was called "Estética en Negro, Identidad y Creatividad" [Aesthetics in Black, Identity and Creativity.] In 2006, Lundu implemented human rights workshops for youth in Chincha. In 2007, Lundu was admitted into the Red de Mujeres Feministas (Feminist Women Network) as part of its plan to highlight the intersection between race and gender in its research agenda and community activities. When the August 15, 2006 earthquake affected towns with majority of Afro-Peruvian population, Lundu answered the emergency of this tragic event with diverse aid operations ranging from food to housing construction. In the last years, Lundu programs work to substitute colonial images of Afro-Peruvians with more dignifying and egalitarian images. Lundu has even won legal suits against national TV channels that reproduced pejorative images of Afro-Peruvians in their advertising and comedy programs, forcing the

removal of some of the pernicious advertisements (Lundu website and Lundu, personal conversations, 2010).

Mission

My conversations with Lundu staff (2009 & 2010) informed me that this Center works for the development of the Afro-descendant population through struggles against racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination from intercultural, intergenerational, gender, and democratic perspectives. This work is complemented with the promotion of research and advocacy for human rights for Afro-descendants as well as the creation of programs, laws, and policies for promoting their development. Moreover, Lundu organizes educational and artistic activities in partnership with local, national, and international institutions. Lundu is committed to an inclusive and non-racist society where respect for human rights provides opportunities in democratic, equitable, and fair ways to everyone. Lundu publishes newsletters, handouts, and graphic novels, addressing Afro-Peruvian concerns and culture.

Projects

My personal conversation with Lundu staff, supplemented by the Lundu website (<http://lundu.org.pe/inicioweb.html>), provided the following information about their institutional projects:

Anti-racist and Intercultural Education. This project has been developed in coordination with educative authorities in Chincha and Callao cities as well as officials of the Ministry of Education. Its goal is to improve educational access among students of Afro-Peruvian rural and urban communities. The project has created an intercultural and anti-racist kindergarten

curriculum as well as scholarships for college students. Also, this project is working in the elaboration of national curricular and policy proposals to address exclusion and racism against Afro-Peruvians as well as other marginalized groups.

The Network of Afro-Peruvian Youth. Made up of 20 young leaders from Chincha, this network promotes human rights, sexual health, and reproductive health awareness. In addition, they lead the struggle against racism in their communities through workshops and other activities.

Aesthetics in Black. This program focuses on visual arts, music, and performing arts to create new methodologies and paradigms to improve self-esteem and strengthen individual identity among children and teenagers in marginal urban and rural towns in Callao and Chincha. Also, art is experienced as a way to develop skills to confront racism, violence, and exclusion.

Reference Center. This center develops advocacy actions in sexual rights, reproductive rights, and human rights with gender and ethnic perspective in Chincha. Members of the center develop skills to manage and affect these issues through group training and organization. They also develop skills training children and teenagers in human rights. The Center also manages scholarships to support tertiary technical studies among Afro-Peruvian students and works to develop micro-businesses.

Racismo Nunca Más [Racism No More]. This is a campaign that started in 2006 and focuses on the eradication of racism against Afro-descendants, Indigenous, and other discriminated groups in Peruvian media. Also, this campaign proposes the creation of legal instruments to sanction racism. The message of this campaign highlights the need to build recognition and

appreciation for Peruvian ethnic diversity by creating new paradigms of Peruanity. The combat against racism is seen as a fundamental step for the development of democracy.

Afro-Peruvian Observatory. This office records and evaluates the representation of Afro-Peruvians in Peruvian media. Also, this office works on public policies and programs related to Afro-Peruvians.

The Reconstruction of the South. Responding to the earthquake of August 15, 2007, this project is building wooden apartments for families who lost their homes. Additionally, problems facing these socio-economically oppressed communities were exacerbated by the earthquake. This project designs strategies with affected communities to confront sexual tourism, school drop outs, common crime, and the sale of farmland to outsiders, which runs the risk of weakening community identities and resources. (For more information about Lundu please see Appendix B).

Objections to the State's Intercultural Education Policies and Proposals for their Reform

Information collected from the Yapatera High School, CEDET, and Lundu illustrate their objections to current government intercultural education policies, pointing out the marginalization of Afro-Peruvians and the state's systematic ignorance about their culture. The exclusion of Afro-Peruvians from the official intercultural education is seen as a consequence of the State systematic erasure of Afro-Peruvians in the national historical narrative: "Está aun invisibilizado en la educación peruana el aporte de la población afroperuana en los ámbitos político, económico y social" [Within Peruvian education the political, economic, and social contribution of Afro-Peruvian population are still invisible] (Lundu, 2009b, I). Yapatera High School teachers question national curricula elaborated in Lima. These curricula should apply

intercultural principles adopted by the education law, however “Ellos no incluyen a los afrodescendientes en ninguna area” [They do not include Afro-descents in any area of study] (Yapatera High School, personal conversations 2010). According to the teachers: “El currículo se hace de arriba a abajo, desde las oficinas del Ministerio de Educación en Lima y sin diálogo ni consulta a los profesores ni comunidades de las otras regiones del país” [The curriculum is top-down, made by the Ministry of Education offices in Lima and without dialogue or consultation with teachers and communities in other regions] (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2010).

This form of exclusion reproduces the ethnocentric and racist practices of colonial power. CEDET also asserts that current intercultural education policies are not efficient tools to face issues of social exclusion and discrimination in Peruvian society: “La EIB {Bilingual Intercultural Education} no considera la disminución de la discriminación racial y cultural” [Bilingual intercultural education does not include decreasing racial and cultural discrimination] (CEDET, 2005b, 19).

According to Lundu and CEDET, the current intercultural education policy of the Peruvian state has an exclusionary, ethnocentric orientation: “La EIB no propone una cobertura a todos los grupos étnicos, pueblos, naciones, ciudadanos y los seres humanos del mundo” [Bilingual Intercultural Education does not propose coverage of all ethnic groups, peoples, nations, citizens, and human beings of the world] (CEDET, 2005b, 20). This curricular contradiction is in some way reproduced in the classrooms: “El proceso de socialización que adquieren los afroperuanos en el sistema educativo reproduce modelos excluyentes y discriminatorios” [The socialization process for Afro-Peruvians in the education system

reproduces exclusionary and discriminatory models] (CEDET, 2005c, 89). In this way, school has become a mirror of social conflicts more than a means for social conciliation and transformation: “La escuela es un contexto en el que se reproducen los patrones de marginación, discriminación y exclusión que predominan en la sociedad actual” [School is a context where society’s predominant patterns of marginalization, discrimination and exclusion are reproduced] (Lundu, 2009b, 10). This situation seriously undermines the identity construction of Afro-Peruvian students. They have to develop their collective identity without the support of teaching materials and under the continuous threat of racist comments, jokes, gestures, and insults. Even intercultural education programs neglect the necessity of facing issues of racism and xenophobia: “La EIB no considera la modificación de los estereotipos raciales y culturales” [Bilingual intercultural education has not included altering racial and cultural stereotypes] (CEDET, 2005b, 19).

Proposals of these non-profit organizations and the Yapatera High School show a consensus about the need to include Afro-Peruvian culture and history in the public education system from pre-school to college levels. This inclusion can give visibility and recognition to Afro-Peruvian identity, and allow more efficient challenges to racism and ethnocentrism in Peru.

Lundu’s Module of Anti-Racist Intercultural Education for preschool points out that: “educar a niñas y niños de tan corta edad, es una gran oportunidad, porque no han incorporado profundamente prejuicios como el racismo, la discriminación, la desigualdad o la intolerancia en sus vidas” [to teach children at that age is a great opportunity because they do not hold deeply internalized prejudices such as cause racism, discrimination, inequality and intolerance] (Lundu, 2009, p. 6). The implementation of the Lundu’s module requires teachers, parents, and tutors

committed to create an atmosphere of democratic citizenship in classrooms. Girls and boys should “relacionarse de manera horizontal y democrática, respetando los derechos del otro” [related to each other in a horizontal and democratic way, respecting the rights of others] (Lundu, 2009b, p. 11). This program implies making pre-school students familiar with principles of democratic social justice: “Es fundamental que los niños y niñas se reconozcan como sujetos de derecho en su real dimensión y lo entiendan para que los puedan defender” [It is fundamental that boys and girls recognize themselves as subjects of law in its real dimension and understand it so they can defend it] (Lundu, 2009b, 11).

CEDET supports the proposal to include African history in national school curricula. Also, CETED affirms that public teaching should promote critical analysis of the colonial slavery system and Afro-Peruvian socio-political and cultural contributions to the country (CEDET, 2005c).

In turn, the principal and teachers of Yapatera High School are working on an institutional educational plan to put into context the educational process of Yapatera students. This plan will be sent to the local offices of the Ministry of Education for approval. This plan will include local history, knowledge, and traditions as part of the formal curriculum. This project may become a tool to officially democratize cultural policies and practices inside the school. Meanwhile, students, the Yapatera community and neighboring communities have greatly appreciated the experiences of identity reaffirmation through the arts that have been promoted in the school. Students performed Yapatera history through dances in the parades. The school was selected as the top performer in regional parades for two years based on student dance, music and costumes (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2009 & 2010).

A female teacher of the high school told me an anecdote that showed me that some Ministry of Education authorities are more flexible and open to demands for the symbolic inclusion of excluded groups, despite the prevailing ethnocentrism and authoritarianism of headquarters. This teacher attended a workshop in 2009 for math teachers offered in Piura by the Ministry of Education. In conversation with the officer in charge, she asked him why there were no images of Afro-descendants in any of the photographs in the math book distributed by the Ministry of Education in public schools throughout the country. The officer took note of her observation and the 2010 math books included pictures of Afro-Peruvians (Yapatera High School, personal conversations, 2010). Face-to-face dialogue with authorities showed its effectiveness also under more difficult situations in September 2010 when Yapatera High School walked to the offices of regional government to demand the computer laboratory promised by authorities, as I mentioned before.

CEDET and Lundu manage small college scholarships for Afro-Peruvian students and they support the proposal of creation of chairs and academic programs of Afro-Latin American and Afro-Peruvian studies (CEDET, 2005c; Lundu, personal conversations, 2009). These kind of academic programs have been implemented in the United States, Brazil, Cuba, and Colombia. The inclusion of these kinds of programs in the Peruvian academic sphere can contribute to the recognition of Afro-Peruvians and can stimulate the progress of intercultural thinking in Peruvian society.

Findings

The everyday work, publications, and collected opinions from members of Yapatera High School, CETED, and Lundu show a consensus about the central issue of current cultural policies

of the Peruvian public education: the systematic trend to ignore historical, political, economic, social, and cultural contributions of Afro-Peruvians.

Efforts to erase the past and present Afro-Peruvian presence in official discourses are, at the same time, an attempt to cover up their current exclusion, marginalization, economic destitution, and exploitation. Privileged and dominant groups also use this cover up to reject accusations of structural racism that come mainly from Indigenous and Afro-descendent people as well as national and international human rights advocates.

The invisibility of Afro-descendants undermines their collective rights, especially the right with the most economic implications: reparation for three centuries of slavery.

International pressure from the United Nations and UNESCO has forced dominant groups of Peruvian society to officially acknowledge racism as a structural issue in the country. These institutions have included racism as a priority issue in their agendas and have persuaded state members to sign international agreements to solve racism issues inside their respective societies. These agreements have become important means for Indigenous and Afro-Latino peoples struggling for recognition in Peru.

Although the Peruvian state is legally committed to comply with national laws and international agreements to protect human rights and penalize racism, state intercultural programs have not been linked to these commitments. However, intercultural education programs would be more meaningful if they were linked to the promotion of human rights and the fight against racism because intercultural education is supposed to promote equal rights between different socio-cultural groups and individuals, therefore, to confront and prevent all

kind of discrimination and oppression. In this way, intercultural education can provide a strong path to a culturally inclusive Peruvian citizenship especially for historically excluded groups. Unfortunately, the state has reduced intercultural programs to the goal of assimilation for Indigenous peoples.

The improvement of formal education access and achievement of Afro-Peruvians is seen by CEDET, Lundu and Yapatera High School as a key goal in the struggle for the development of their communities. However, because of *criollo* and Eurocentric curricula, Afro-descendent students face the difficulty of taking courses whose curriculum ignores their collective identity. In some way, to gain individual approval and success they must succeed in an educational process that requires them to forget their collective identity.

CEDET and Lundu propose various ideas to make the Peruvian public education system more inclusive, intercultural, and democratic, especially regarding Afro-Peruvians. First, they propose to include different racial, ethnic, and cultural Peruvian groups in curricula. Second, they propose extending intercultural education to all levels of public education in rural and urban zones. Third, they propose including African history in the curriculum as well as the critical analysis of colonial and Republican slavery. Fourth, they propose introducing in the curricula the social, political, economic, cultural, and spiritual contributions of Afro-Peruvians to the country.

The applications of these proposals will allow a more critical understanding of racism, ethnocentrism, and xenophobia in Peruvian society. Equally important, the acknowledgement and strengthening of ethnic identities will contribute to building healthy individual and collective subjectivities which, at the same time, will facilitate the recognition of others and by others in the context of an intercultural Peruvian citizenship. Until now, the universal history curriculum has

been basically reduced to ancient Middle East and Mediterranean, and Europe from the Renaissance. An intercultural universal history should also open its content to Africa and Asia. This universal history should provide the context to teach Peruvian history where it is important to show how diverse migrations have shaped Peruvian society. Peruanity should be proposed as a conciliatory, integrating, and dynamic concept referring to the socio-cultural diversity of the country.

CEDET, Lundu, and Yapatera High School are organizing numerous activities and projects in order to create school curricula and college programs dedicated to Afro-Peruvian, Afro-Latino, and Afro-American cultures. The field of education is considered crucial to getting the required recognition for Afro-Peruvians because it is necessary to overcome stereotypes and prejudices. The inclusion of Afro-Peruvians in the education system will facilitate their inclusion in the national citizenship. The recognition of Afro-Peruvians as citizens would expedite the fight against racism from state offices. The affirmation of Afro-Peruvian along with Indigenous traditions would allow rebuilding Peruvian history from popular voices and in linkage with other Latin American peoples.

CEDET has worked at national level in the organization of the United Nations World Conference against Racism, Xenophobia, and Related Forms of Intolerance in Durban, 2001. CETED organized public conversations between state officials and Afro-Peruvian communities. These conversations were useful to define goals for the struggle against racism in Peru.

Lundu has led a campaign against racist and discriminatory messages in Peruvian media, which is crucial due to media's influence on the national imaginary. The victory over racism requires in some way the democratization of the national imaginary, which implies that

individuals and social identities be perceived as equal in dignity and capabilities. CEDET and Lundu also are working on social discrimination from perspectives that include the intersection between ethnicity and gender because racism and sexism are factors that multiply discrimination against Afro-descendant and Indigenous women, but also against LGBT members of Afro and Indigenous groups.

Yapatera High School is working for community development through an education that inspires in the new generation a desire for knowledge and professional careers as well as a cultural identity and social values. The writing of the institutional education plan will allow recognition from the Ministry of Education for this work which can motivate other schools serving Afro-Peruvian and Indigenous communities.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation argues that one important component of the difficulties in democratizing Peruvian educational intercultural policy is ideological in origin, based on a colonial tradition that assumes a Eurocentric and hierarchical order among Peruvian cultures. This colonial content shapes both intercultural education policy and official discourses on *mestizaje*, which is supposed to define a pluralistic national identity. Colonialism weakens the attempt to equalize races and cultures through *mestizaje* by reducing diversity to the Castilian-Quechua hierarchical duality and excluding all other socio-cultural groups. This colonialism also undermines the intercultural goal of implementing democratic dialogues among cultures.

I have relied almost exclusively on Afro-Peruvian experiences, perspectives, and writings to illustrate the history, logic, and *modus operandi* of this larger systemic oppression. The Afro-Peruvian case allows me to advocate for the inclusion of Peruvian marginalized communities with Asian, Middle Eastern, and non-Quechua Indigenous roots as well. In addition, I argue that truly incorporating all of Peru's socio-cultural diversity into its recounting of history and its educational policy would allow the society to face its grave challenges of cultural, ethnic, and racial integration.

I have articulated Afro-Peruvian experiences, perspectives, and thoughts based on historical narratives (Chapter 3), the concepts and analysis of Senghor, Santa Cruz, and Luciano (Chapter 4); and the critiques, proposals and projects of the Yapatera High School, CEDET, and Lundu (Chapter 5). The knowledge of Afro-Peruvian traditions allows me not only to understand

the causes of the ‘paradoxes of interculturality without diversity’ (Chapter 1) existent in the current intercultural education policy but also suggests alternatives for overcoming these contradictions, to democratize education and to reconcile the relationships among various Peruvian socio-cultural groups.

Coming from Afro-Peruvian perspectives, the research conducted by this dissertation leads me to propose the following steps in order to promote a more transformative intercultural Peruvian education policy:

a) The Writing of Multicultural Narratives

As I argued in Chapters 3 and 4, one of the major obstacles to reform of intercultural education is the silence within official history of the participation of South Saharans (as well as Middle Eastern, Asian, and non-Quechua Indigenous peoples) and their descendants in the struggles and work that created today’s Peru. Therefore, the interculturalization of Peruvian education requires the recreation of historical narratives incorporating the contributions of excluded social groups. These new narratives should inform school history books. This is an intercultural project that ought to be coordinated and funded by the Ministry of Education.

Knowledge of Peruvian multiethnic history will encourage the respect of differences, mutual recognition, and social integration. This history will provide the best support for an intercultural education that promotes appreciation and learning among diverse Peruvian socio-cultural groups. Intercultural education should confront the internal colonialism that manifests in pejorative beliefs and practices of exclusion demarcating dominant and subordinate cultural groups. This process of decolonization should be supported by a national media committed to promote mutual

acknowledge among Peruvian socio-cultural groups. Unfortunately, the Peruvian media is still one of the main sources of reproduction of colonial stereotypes.

This multicultural Peruvian history will become one of the best tools to deconstruct the colonial racist images that predominate in the social imaginary controlled by *criollo* culture. With a position close to Fanon, Santa Cruz argued that counter-historical narratives as well as the change of structures that cause economic inequalities and violence can create real conditions for a policy of mutual recognition and social justice among cultures (Santa Cruz, 1982a). For Santa Cruz, racism was a tool to facilitate exploitation, so it was necessary to change the economic system in order to fight racism.

b) The Implementation of Decolonizing Pedagogies

Intercultural education policy should include pedagogies of decolonization. Current institutional and social practices of ethnic discrimination and exclusion are an expression of the impact of the colonial legacy. The change of these practices requires a pedagogical process of decolonization. I argued in Chapter 4 that this process of decolonization can be based on the theoretical work of Senghor, Santa Cruz, and Luciano. Senghor's principle of complementary equality among cultures (1961) is a key element for transforming the Peruvian colonial imaginary to appreciate socio-cultural diversity from a more equitable and democratic point of view. On this basis, it is possible to build up integrated and more symmetrical relationships and learning among socio-cultural groups. The principle of complementary equality encourages exploration and dialogic exchange among cultures in the search for their compatible differences and mutual appreciation.

Luciano (2002) agreed with Santa Cruz's idea that the democratization of the country depended on overcoming the remaining racist and cultural structures of colonialism. This also includes overcoming a mental colonialism based on a hierarchical set of racial categories. To build democratic relationships among socio-cultural groups, Luciano proposed the creation of a new language for describing social identities and differences in socio-cultural terms. A new humanist and democratic language should be created to substitute the colonial language in use today; this is about creating a new epistemology to address contemporary Peruvian social diversity in an ethical way. The words that are used to describe various social groups currently (in their English and Spanish versions)—Whites, Indians, Blacks, etc. are colonial categories that are seemingly based on notions of biological "race." The new epistemology needs to rely, instead, on words that recognize the cultural roots of identity. For Luciano, the decolonization should be a key content inside a human rights culture that affirms the value of socio-cultural plurality and, at the same time, affirms individuals' freedom to construct their own identities.

c) **The Interculturalization of *Mestizaje***

Intercultural education policy should also promote a decolonized, inclusive, and dynamic notion of national identity. Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that a decolonized idea of Peruvian cultural identities should comprise the contributions of all the ethnicities that make up Peruvian society. This dissertation fosters a new thinking about Peruvian *mestizaje* intended to reformulate concepts about national identity and citizenship. Future intercultural policy and public discussions should include Peruvian peoples' images that reflect social diversity in open and dynamic ways in order to facilitate recognition, democratization, and equity in the relationships among Peruvians with aboriginal, African, Asian, European, and Middle Eastern

roots. This inclusion will create favorable conditions for the process of cultural recognition, and, subsequently, for the process of justice and reconciliation in the country.

d) A Bottom-Up Policy-Making Process

The critical potential of intercultural policies only can be improved by including voices of discriminated socio-cultural groups. As Chapter 5 shows, members of CEDET and Lundu nonprofits and the staff of the Yapatera High School argue that the *criollo* bureaucracy controls the elaboration of education cultural policies that have made invisible the historical and current contributions of Afro-Peruvians. As I have highlighted in Chapter 1, the *criollo* ethnocentrism has had the monopoly of the State. By including proposals and projects that are emerging from Afro-Peruvian praxis in institutions such as Yapatera High School, CEDET, and Lundu as well as from other excluded socio-cultural groups, intercultural policies can reach deeper visions of social justice in the country, visions that confront racism, xenophobia, ethnocentrism, and linguistic and cultural intolerance.

The inclusion of excluded groups in the intercultural education policy-making process will facilitate the identification and de-construction of racist and Eurocentric beliefs and concepts that characterize institutional and social discourses in Peru. The inclusion of these contents in intercultural policies will strengthen links among processes of intercultural education, decolonization, and socio-political democratization. This way, intercultural programs in public education will be effective tools for the democratization of Peruvian society and the construction of a harmonious and just intercultural society.

e) The Implementation of Public Intercultural Dialogues

The success of intercultural education policies requires the support of a bigger sector of the public opinion. The public implementation of intercultural conversations based on the principles of equity, dignity, and peace can stimulate a favorable stream for interculturalization in the society. As Senghor, Santa Cruz, and Luciano argued, conversations among all cultural groups will be one of the most powerful methods for democratizing the social imaginary. This can be the beginning of a political-educational process of decolonization of the public opinion. In addition to schools and universities, intercultural conversations should take place in media, public, and state events.

In order to find and establish complementary equalities, cultural groups should decolonize their relations; in other words, they should substitute the beliefs and practices of political-economic subordination (hegemony) of some groups over others with democratic beliefs and practices. Santa Cruz and Senghor both thought that dialogues among cultures can improve anti-racist, anti-colonial, and social justice awareness among peoples. Multicultural societies need intercultural citizens to build a fair, peaceful, and worthy co-existence among all their socio-cultural groups.

f) An Interculturality Open to World Cultures & International Society

It is important to highlight that Peruvian socio-cultural diversity is aboriginal and transcontinental. Due to this composition, Senghorian dialogues can contribute to the development of an awareness of Peruvian and global universality. New communication technologies make it easier to research current socio-cultural processes and productions in other parts of the world. Information available in global communication networks can facilitate a continuous conversation among cultures. This conversation is crucial to building a sense of

national and global citizenship also committed to responding to the various crises the world faces today: the deterioration of democratic processes in most nations, unfair international trade policies, armed conflicts, environmental pollution, and the lack of socially and environmentally sustainable economic-political models.

Opening Peruvian society to the world will allow an even greater understanding and appreciation of its own national diversity. This openness will offer better conditions to develop and implement policies to lead the country toward an egalitarian, dignified and peaceful co-existence among cultures.

It is important to note that international agreements about human rights and against racism signed by the Peruvian State, especially through the United Nations, have been important legal tools to protect the rights of Afro-Peruvians and Indigenous peoples. These agreements are recently allowing the elaboration of national legislation against racism and other forms discrimination such as the Law against Racist Insults signed by the Peruvian Congress on July 15, 2011. Although legal protection is still limited, there is an ongoing process to design national and international legal bodies where Afro-Peruvians can denounce racist mistreatment against them.

g) Research on Intercultural Educational Practices

The design of new intercultural education policies should also be informed by the best intercultural practices that are taking place in different schools of the country. It is therefore important to facilitate communication among classrooms and offices where policies are developed through consultation mechanisms and empirical research on intercultural teaching and learning processes.

h) Further Research About Afro-Peruvian Culture

To include Afro-Peruvian culture in new intercultural educational policies, further research on Afro-Peruvian history and culture is needed. It is important to note that due to the historical situation described in this dissertation, the Afro-Peruvian tradition has been forced to survive mainly through oral traditions. Research methodologies must be suited to this oral tradition.

Like the Quechua-Spanish intellectual José Maria Arguedas (1981), Santa Cruz anticipated that the progress of historical, sociological and anthropological research would provide key conceptual tools to decolonize Peruvian education and, therefore, Peruvian identities.

i) Further Research on Gender, Class, Disability, and Religion Marginalization

In addition to taking full account of ethnic cultures, intercultural education also must be open to all social power dynamics which are present today including issues of diversity, marginalization and intolerance related to gender, social class, ability, sexual orientation and religious beliefs.

j) The Struggle Against Colonial Legacies in Latin American and Caribbean Regions

Intercultural education is a tool against colonialism in Peru, which reflects broader power relations realities of the region throughout the Americas and the Caribbean. Intercultural education must include an analysis and a critical study of colonialism and its impact in the regions today.

k) Closing Arguments

It is expected that intercultural education policies informed by broad intercultural dialogues will shape curricula and texts, teacher preparation, educator hiring, professional training, school and university admission processes, institutional interculturalization projects, the recognition and protection of diversity, and the struggle against racism, xenophobia, and related forms of intolerance in the education system.

As I discussed in the first chapter, cultural exclusions in today's Peru have been exacerbated in recent years as a result of Peru's entry into the international neoliberal economic system, which has reduced workers and Indigenous peoples' rights previously recognized by national and international laws and agreements. The presence and severity of these exclusions add to the urgency of work for the interculturalization of Peruvian society throughout the education system. Intercultural education is a key tool for the construction of an intercultural citizenship. This education should recognize, explore, and stimulate dialogue among Indigenous Amazonian, Andean, and Coastal peoples as well as other Peruvian socio-cultural groups from Africa, Asia, Europe, and Middle East. The precise nature of intercultural courses must emerge from the needs and desires of Peruvian socio-cultural groups articulated in the policy-making and the curricular design processes.

The construction of an inclusive democratic society based on intercultural principles requires profoundly challenging colonialism. That is to say, an intercultural democracy only will be possible if it starts by deconstructing colonial racism.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE 1972 PERUVIAN EDUCATION REFORM

The most important precedent of intercultural policies was the 1972 Peruvian Education Reform. This Reform included Indigenous languages and cultures in public education curricula. According to this Commission that recommended the reform: “structural causes of the main Peruvian social issues are its condition as an underdeveloped and dependent country” (p. 11). The underdevelopment was described as a consequence of the subordination to the international capitalism, which produced deep economic inequalities among Peruvian social groups.

This Report stated that a small urban Hispanic group monopolized resources and public institutions by excluding the majority of rural and Indigenous people. These unfair economic and social structures were hidden by capitalist and Hispanic ideologies oriented to serve dominant groups. These ideologies influenced the national education curriculum, which formed national elites identified with foreign capitalist interests and alienated Indigenous people from their traditions and reality. Therefore, the national education system worked for national and international powers that created economic inequalities. However, gender inequalities were not addressed as a social issue. The Commission recommended curriculum committed to social unification and bilingual instruction for excluded groups.

Based on this Report, the Peruvian state launched an education reform in 1972. This reform tried to change 150 years of imposed Eurocentrism, elitism, and Hispanic homogenization. The new vision of education was inspired by humanist, socialist, nationalist,

and anti-imperialist ideals, which came from leftist Peruvian movements since the beginning of the twentieth century and from the influence of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy. The new curricula incorporated Indigenous cultures, socialism, and anti-imperialist content. Moreover, it proposed a diversified and flexible education that embraced the local reality and language of students.

Nevertheless, the first model of bilingual education had an orientation toward linguistic assimilation from Indigenous languages to Spanish. According to the Comisión de la Reforma [the Reform Commission] (1970), teaching Indigenous languages was an efficient tool to learn Spanish later; so that the structural privilege of Hispanic culture over Indigenous cultures was not seriously questioned. In 1974, Quechua (the major Indigenous language) was declared an official language along with Spanish, leading to a second model of bilingual and intercultural education. In this model, bilingual and intercultural education followed a kind of pluralist and egalitarian model. Quechua was supposed to be taught at all public schools across the country. However, this second model was never implemented.

In 1975, General Velasco (leader of the government) was replaced by General Morales Bermudez who restored the oligarchy order and subordinated state policies to the demands of the International Monetary Fund, which asked for deactivating the social reforms of the former administration. The educational reform was one of the first programs to be dismantled.

APPENDIX B

AFRO-PERUVIAN NGOs

a) CEDET, Contact Information

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Staff: Oswaldo Bilbao Lobatón, Executive Director; Adriana Mandrós Gallardo, Manager; Susana Matute Charún, Education; Zoraida Santé Beizaga, Secretary; Newton Mori Julca, History and Culture; Lilia Mayorga Balcazar, Communications; Carlos Velarde Reyes, Projects; Sofía Arizaga Muñoz, Training; Margarita Ramírez, Publications.

Publications

Books

Los Afroperuanos: Trayectoria y Destino del Pueblo Negro en el Perú, José Carlos Luciano (2002).

Derechos Económicos Sociales y Culturales y Mujer Afroperuana, CEDET (2004).

La Abolición de la Esclavitud y sus Procesos en América Latina y El Caribe, CEDET (2004)

Los Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales, Percepción de la Mujer Afroperuana, CEDET.

Madres Gestoras de su Propio Desarrollo, CEDET.

Resultados de la Encuesta de Hogares en las Comunidades Afroperuanas de El Carmen, Yapatera y San José de los Molinos de 1998-1999, CEDET (2004).

El Estado y el Pueblo afroperuano. Balance y propuestas del proceso afroperuano ante los acuerdos de la Conferencia regional de las Américas, CEDET (2006).

Negritud. Resistencia y Existencia, Humberto Rodríguez Pastor (2008).

La Población Afroperuana y los Derechos Humanos, CEDET (2008).

Videos (uploaded in Youtube)

Taller Internacional de Derechos Humanos 1

Taller Internacional de Derechos Humanos 2

Taller Internacional de Derechos Humanos 3

Todo es Derechos Humanos

Derechos Humanos y Población Afro-Peruana

Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales de la Mujer Afroperuana.

Terremoto y Solidaridad.

Magazine

Con Todo Derecho, #1, (2008).

Con Todo Derecho, #2, (2009).

Con Todo Derecho, #3, (2009)

Con Todo Derecho, #4, (2009).

CEDET, *El Estado y Pueblo Afroperuano*, 2006.

Afro-Peruvians, trajectory and destiny of a Black people (book), José Luciano, 2002.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights of Afro-Peruvian Women I and II (book and CD), 2004.

Afro-Peruvian Women Perception of the Implementation of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (book), ?

Census of Yapatera, El Carmen, and San Jose (document), 1998-1999.

State and Afro-Peruvian people regarding the agreements of the regional conference of the Americas (book), 2006.

Negritude, Resistencia y Existencia (book), Humberto Rodríguez Pastor, 2008.

Afro-Peruvian population and Human Rights (book), 2008.

Beyond the Earthquake ().

Human rights newsletter 'Con Todo Derecho', from 2008 to present.

Being black in Peru, video (2007), *Afro-Peruvians heading for Santiago+5*, video (2007),

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_WE-1sWfmk&feature=related

Human rights and Afro-Peruvians, video (2008),

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HpvoJlmKM9w&feature=related>

Everything is human rights, video (2009),

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UyvdywLbouc&feature=player_embedded#!

Events

International Conferences: Afro-descendants ask for the floor (2000). Abolition of slavery and manumission in Latin America and Caribbean countries (2004). Social media towards ethnic inclusion (2006). Scenarios and perspectives of Afro-descendants women in Latin America and Caribbean countries (2009).

Tribute to Afro-Peruvians: Symposium and homage to Jose Carlos Luciano and Fernando Espinoza (2002). Tribute to Nicomedes Santa Cruz Gamarra (2003). Luminous Black, photographic exhibition (2003). Recognition Afro-Peruvians by 150 years of abolition of slavery (2004).

Various: Black carnival parade of devils in Lima (2004). Creativity and persistence of Afro-Peruvian culture, dialogue (2004). Afro-Peruvian culture and art, exhibition (2004). Afro-Peruvian women's presence in the last 150 years, dialogue (2004). Racism and discrimination: equality beyond differences (2004). Situation and perspectives of Afro-Peruvian youth (2004). Ethnicity, education, and interculturality (2004). Afro-Peruanity and Malambo genesis (2006). Women entrepreneurs training (2006).

b) Lundu, Contact Information

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Telephone: 628 3764 | E-mail: lundu@lundu.org.pe

Website: www.lundu.org.pe

Staff: Mónica Carrillo Zegarra, President; Rocío Muñoz Flores, Director; Paula Masías, Manager; Giovanna Silva, Assistant Manager; Gloria Castro, Office Assistant; Bonnie Ramirez, Communication Officer; Roberto Arguedas, Area of Artistic and Creative Production; Carmen Luz Medrano García y Luís Ávalos Mazzoni, Chíncha Referential Center Facilitators.

Publications

Newsletters

Por una Reconstrucción del Plan de Vida (Agosto 2008 - N° 7)

Por una Reconstrucción del Plan de Vida (Febrero 2008 - N° 6)

LUNDU, Centro de Estudios y Promoción Afroperuanos (2008 - N° 5)

El Recuento de los Logros (Octubre/ Noviembre 2005 - N° 4)

Reafirmando nuestra Identidad Afro-Descendiente (Enero 2004- N° 3)

Creación desde la Resistencia (Marzo / Abril 2004 - N° 2)

Construyamos el Camino (Agosto/ Setiembre 2003 - N° 1)

Picture-Narratives

Una Nueva Vida para Fernando, Cambio de Piel

Entre sueños y Realidades

Other Materials

Cartilla para jóvenes "Soy Afrodescendiente... y tú?"

Folleto institucional 2008

Presentación "El proceso histórico y político de l@s afroperuan@s y la conformación de su
identidad"

Presentación "Racismo, Endorracismo y el Impacto en la Identidad de las Mujeres
Afroperuanas"

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